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REPUBLIC

July 7, 1941

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THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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Knox Says "Let's Go"

Apart from the isolationists, those who have argued against using the American fleet immediately in the Atlantic have done so on the ground that we dare not remove our ships from the Pacific. We now have the best possible testimony that this fear is groundless. Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy, certainly ought to know how great are the risks in the two oceans. He says flatly that the United States should at once use its ships to "clear the Atlantic of the German menace." He points out that sinkings of merchant vessels still exceed construction in Britain and America combined, by three to one. Important military equipment is being lost in large quantities through German submarine and airplane action. Yet when convoys are adequately guarded, sinkings are reduced to a negligible point. Elsewhere in this issue we argue for the use of the American navy in the Atlantic to permit the British to create a second front in North Africa. Secretary Knox's statement strongly confirms the view that effective action is now both possible and urgently desirable.

Priority Unemployment

There is a new phrase in the American labor movement—priority unemployment. As commodity after commodity becomes scarce, and priorities hit non-defense industry after industry, thousands of men are being thrown out of work. There is good authority for the prediction that after a few months about one-third of our industry will be idle. Much has been said about impending shortages of labor, but there is plenty of labor; the real bottleneck is in the materials of industry—aluminum, steel, zinc, rubber, etc.

Priority unemployment is unalloyed and inexcusable economic waste. There is no real shortage of any needed material in its natural state. They all exist in the ground or can be grown in the fields. Even in cases where we depend on foreign supplies, the difficulty is lack of ships rather than lack of the substance itself. Labor applied to materials could have enlarged the available supplies in all cases. The fault lies with the industrialists who restricted expansion of production, and with President Roosevelt, who was fooled into allowing them to do so.

In view of this stupendous blunder, we hope that the reorganization of the OPM will produce better results in the future. It is, indeed, streamlined for better administration. But its industry committees still are dominated by big industrialists; labor does not have equal representation in them. And there is still no agency with power and responsibility to see the defense program as an economic and military whole.

The Diplomatic Fifth Column

We do not blame the British for being disturbed and angry with our Department of State about the Scheherazade. This great French tanker was captured by the British navy as it was bound for Casablanca, in French Morocco. Foreign Minister Eden announced that Britain was not taking any more chances of essential materials reaching Vichy-dominated regions, because Vichy was an accomplice of Hitler. President

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Roosevelt and Secretary Hull castigated Vichy in much the same vein. But now, strangely enough, the Scheherazade is released to proceed on her way, because of pressure on Britain by our State Department. Why, in Heaven's name?

It is reported that Weygand has promised that supplies reaching the territory which he controls will not be allowed to fall into German hands. But who can trust such a promise? Weygand has consistently supported Pétain and the Vichy regime; he has made no move to join the Free French or to aid the Allies. This is a war, gentlemen! Appeasement has no place in it. We cannot buy Weygand any more than we could buy Franco and Mussolini—which you also tried to do. If he is for us, let him show it, and then we can support him.

We have long since tired of complaining about the fifth column among our diplomatists. After all, the responsibility is the President's. Mr. Roosevelt, are actions like these in accord with your policy? If not, why don't you make it your first business to take the State Department in hand?

Hoover, Not the Pope

We have learned to look, in military offensives, for what the strategists call the maximum and minimum objectives. In Hitler's attack on Russia they are as plain as a bomber against the moon. At most, Hitler controls Russian man power and resources and becomes unbeatable. At least, he hopes to confuse the enemies he already had, playing especially on the hatred of communism by the Catholic Church and by conservatives, and taking the role of protector of the home, the office and the altar. Given a smashing victory, the minimum objective can be smiled off in a Brauhaus rally; denied that ultimate and utter power, the moral crusade can take prisoners.

It did not capture the Pope. Pressure had been put on the Vatican to instruct all bishops to lead their flocks in a holy war against the USSR. It was expected that the Pope's address, scheduled for the celebration of the martyrdom of the Apostles Peter and Paul, would state the position of the Church on the question; and the address did, powerfully, by omitting the subject. The Pontiff dealt with the ways of God toward man, passing over the plans of Adolf Hitler. The most important prisoner that the Nazi leader was able to take into camp was one considerably less noteworthy, Herbert Hoover of the United States. In a broadcast Mr. Hoover fanned the flames of hatred for the Soviets, and reminded us that we need not fear Hitler's plans because the Atlantic is still 3,000 miles wide and American bombers are flying it now with aid to Britain. The logic is less than reassuring. A man who will not open his eyes will never see a bomber against the moon; but he is not the man his countrymen prefer as the defender of their homes.

Party Zigzag

The line of the Communist Party has been modified again. On June 21, the European war was an imperialist conspiracy with which no Communist could have anything to do. On June 22, after Germany attacked Russia, a responsible Communist spokesman held that though all possible aid should be given to the USSR, England was still just an imperialist power which should be ignored. This, however, was too completely nonsensical even for the Communists, and on June 29 they decided, very kindly, that England should also be aided. The Party suddenly begins heaping abuse on the isolationist leaders to whom it was making love as recently as June 21. The war was brought on by the capitalists, but is also the result of Hitler's desire to enslave the world. Apparently this makes Hitler a capitalist, which must surprise even Der Führer, who is accustomed to shocks.

There are hints that the Communists now seek a restoration of the "United Front" with the liberals; evidently the party leaders believe that other people are as completely lacking in principles, as devoted to opportunism, as themselves. We hope the Communists will exercise a unilateral united front, by keeping their mouths shut and ceasing to sabotage the American war effort. It is hard enough to persuade the American tories to consent to giving the necessary aid to Russia, without having the task made harder by antics of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. such as not even a mother could love.

Finland's Feet of Clay

Americans will suffer strongly mixed feelings about Finland's entry into the war on Hitler's side. No one can blame her for her fear of Russia or her desire to recapture what Stalin filched from her after a cruel aggression. On the other hand, as Mr. Churchill has said, every friend of Hitler must be regarded as our enemy.

Finland cannot be expected to take her stand out of mere sentimental attachment to Britain, America or Hitler's democratic victims—in spite of the immense amount of emotional warmth which Americans have evinced toward her. In her own self-interest, however, she would do well to reflect that she has less chance in a Nazi-dominated Europe than in one where her enemies are divided. If faced with a choice between Hitler and Stalin camped on our border, we should choose Stalin every time, even if only because he is less efficient.

This recalls something pointed out by The New Republic during the Russo-Finnish war, but consistently played down in the American press. The Finnish White Guards, who are strong in the army, have a pro-German tendency and at one time fostered a movement closely resembling Nazism. This did not

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negate the judgment that the dominant forces in Finland were enlightened and democratic. Nor did it justify Stalin's attack on Finland as an advance agent of "British imperialism." As we said at the time, the only aggression Russia had to fear through Finland was German—as is now proved by the event. But then Stalin was engaged in abetting Hitler. He would have done better to make a firm ally of the Finnish democrats. We can only hope that his action has not in the end delivered Finland to the Whites.

Right Man, Right Place

One of the pieces of good news in a generally bad week is the announcement that Owen Lattimore has been appointed special political adviser to the Chinese government. Since he was proposed by President Roosevelt, we may take it for granted that he will in fact be a liaison officer between the two governments. A better man for such a post would be hard to find. He knows China and the Chinese intimately and there are no reservations in his support of the democratic way of life. He will be an effective counter-weight against those forces in the State Department which still want to appease Japan.

Opposition Victory

The outcome of the American Newspaper Guild convention in Detroit is a satisfactory one, especially from the standpoint of union democracy. The opposition succeeded in forcing the administration to submit the choice of its next officers to a country-wide referendum, and its belief is that such a broad sampling of opinion is likely to lead to the ousting of the present officers. The referendum will take place probably on September 1, with no change in officers until the beginning of November. The opposition will base its platform on communism and maladministration within the present controlling group, for both of which charges it should find considerable support. But whatever the result of the referendum, we should congratulate the opposition on the result of its efforts so far. It has shown that the Communists and their followers are not the only ones who can organize and work together within a union. It has shown that the answer to Communist control is not disgusted resignation of union membership, but rather a determination to strengthen the cause of valid trade unionism by staying in and fighting. This is perhaps the most important lesson for the liberal members of a union and the example of the Newspaper Guild opposition will give them heart to learn it.

The New Excise Taxes

There are a good many things we do not understand about the new excise taxes agreed upon by the Ways and Means Committee. Much of our confusion probably stems from our ignorance of terminology. We have never known why Congress bothered to call it an excess-profits tax, for instance, when it apparently has no wish to tax excess profits until it squeezes everything else first. We are similarly confused by the new "excise duty" of two cents per thousand on matches. A cruder legislative organization than this committee would have called this a sales tax, since it is one—a 40-per-center at that.

There is also to be a five-percent tax on transportation. We can grasp the significance of that in its broad outlines, *i.e.*, five percent on a $20 ticket, $1 for defense. What has us tied in mental knots is the exemption on commuters' fares up to 35 cents. By what logarithm did the Committee arrive at that figure anyway? Probably we are prejudiced, since we can't afford the rents in the 35-cent commuting zones. But why didn't the Committee take a nice round figure like 50 cents? That would still have let in the $10,000-a-year people, for whom Congress shows such a touching spirit of fraternity, and at the same time would have caught the millionaires on the Cannonball Express from Montauk and the Hamptons.

Nor can we by comparisons track reason as it wriggled through the labyrinths of congressional brains: no tax on furs; 10 percent on alarm clocks. The idea is probably that if you need an alarm clock you have a job and can afford to pay, while the home-reliefers and the unemployed buy furs to keep up a front. The exemption on theatre tickets is reduced from 20 to 9 cents, thus putting even the foulest of the people's opium dens on the 10-percent list. To him who forgets his cares on a yacht, however, the excise is to be $5 a year, the same sum to be extracted from the farmer who keeps a jitney to haul chickens, vegetables and cream.

Things like this make us wish we'd studied economics.

The Power and the Glory

These resignations from the OPM cut us to the quick. Perhaps we are hopelessly sentimental; it is true that we wince to think of so much of a tapeworm detached from its feedbox. At the same time it seems a pity to disturb the felicitous arrangement between lobbies and government that the OPM, borrowing slightly from the NRA, has inaugurated.

What could have been neater, for instance, than that C. W. Kellogg, president of the Edison Electric Institute, should have at all times complete access to C. W. Kellogg, the dollar-a-year chief consultant of the Light, Heat and Power unit of the OPM? We have always opposed lobbies as inefficient. The Edison Institute, for example, has in one guise or another spent millions of dollars making friends among college professors, textbook authors and plain citizens, and influencing state and national lawmakers, and although it has paid good dividends financially, it still has not succeeded in hamstringing the TVA or in routing all municipal power

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plants. Under the OPM it became in effect a part of the government itself, thus cutting out the middleman's profit and reducing the expense to Mr. Kellogg's handsome salary, less one dollar a year from the government.

But now Mr. Kellogg, apparently one who is quick to assume a slight, has resigned. Presumably in his capacity as a dollar-a-year man, Mr. Kellogg told an Edison Institute convention that there was no power shortage. The OPM said he must have been talking as head of the Institute, since the OPM recognized a very serious power shortage. Then the OPM ruled that paid officials of trade associations really didn't need the work and must get off the OPM. This policy would cost it the services of Walter S. Tower, president of the American Iron and Steel Institute, William L. Finger of the Rubber Manufacturers' Association, Charles W. Boyce of the pulp and paper industry, and Tom F. Smith of the Bakers' Association, all of whom are still seeing to it that the OPM does right by democracy, among other things. What's the matter with the OPM anyway? It is beginning to act as if there were a war going on.

Last Week

The Russians held their own beautifully in the Battle of the Communiqué and introduced a secret weapon, individualism. How many Soviet planes the Nazis destroyed in the first week no man knows, although since the 4,107 claimed would probably include every plane then on the front, the figure sounded a little inflated or, to quote, "humbug." But Comrade Roudakov unquestionably "fought heroically" in the region of Sebezh (Sebej), "airmen of the command of Comrade Karabinetz no less courageously," and Pilot Officer Andrianov, perceiving two enemy fighters attacking the plane of Comrade Kousmenko, hastened to the assistance of his comrade and saved him. Page two of The New York Times is interesting at last, beginning somewhat to resemble "War and Peace," the most informative report on the drive to Smolensk yet to get into print. . . . Assistant Secretary of War Patterson and Hanson Baldwin both demanded the removal of Colonel Blimp of the U.S.A., who seems to have a post in too many regiments. Colonel Blimp is the man who made the verb "to soldier" the synomym for the verbs "to loaf," "to sleep on the job." Mostly he is in the National Guard. Getting rid of him under present procedure take years. . . . Watch to see whether the government takes over the smokeless-powder plant of the Western Cartridge Company at East Elton, Illinois. The AFL union won an NLRB election, the company refuses to bargain collectively, hoping to drag the case through the courts. . . . "For the sake of maximum defense production," President Fuller of the National Association of Manufacturers demanded that workers be given the right to bargain individually for a job. Jim Smith against General Motors. This is what is known as the Battle for the Open Shop and is motivated by pure love of country. . . . Seventy-six percent of the people of the country approve of their President, said the Gallup poll. New high. . . . Up in Vermont they talked about the recent fining of Dorothy Thompson for charging out on a main highway without noticing a Stop sign. Affection was mingled with the native sternness, but no surprise.

Create a Second Front!

THESE LINES are being written on the tenth day of the Russo-German war. In these ten days the democracies have signally failed to take advantage of the opportunity before them—an opportunity on which the fate of the whole world for generations may depend. The loss of these ten days is serious but it may not be disastrous. The loss of another month or two might prove to be irreparable.

Whether Russia can conceivably defeat Germany we do not know. Assuming she proves unable to win, we are also ignorant of the length of time she can engage Germany's main attention. Russia's chances after the first ten days look better than they did after the first twenty-four hours. It is quite possible that the American and British military experts, most of whom at first gave her only one chance in five, may be wrong. But it is the most elementary common sense that we should be prepared for the worst. The worst is that the Germans may win, in a few weeks or months, a sufficient victory to make possible a negotiated peace, with control of the Ukraine and adequate guarantees that the Red Army will no longer be a threat when Hitler turns once again to the West.

Everyone except the pathological Communist-haters is agreed that we ought to give Russia as much aid as we can, not for her sake but for our own. People like Herbert Hoover, who recommend that we should help the British, but not the soldiers of the Soviet Union who are fighting Britain's battle on another front, are merely arguing in favor of ensuring the democracies' defeat by hastening the day when Hitler can turn again to the West with maximum power because of the Russian resources that are added to his own. In practical terms, however, it is a question just how much aid England and America can immediately bring to the Russians.

Stalin for many years has sacrificed almost every other interest of his country to the creation of a vast war machine. While it may be that the best new American planes and tanks are superior in quality to his, the difference is probably not decisive, and the quantities we could send within the next few months seem infinitesimal in comparison to what he already has. There is also the question of transportation. Access to Russia

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from Europe is cut off; even Murmansk is no longer safe in view of the Finnish-German movement. Access from the East involves a long, slow journey across the Pacific and another long, slow journey by the Trans-Siberian Railroad, complicated by the possibility that Japan might decide to veto entrance through Vladivostok. Technicians and expert military advisers Russia needs and these can be supplied; Great Britain has already sent a mission to Moscow comprising some able men. But something more and different is needed, both in a military and a psychological sense. Up to now, the pattern of the war has consisted of the British and the Allies waiting to see what Hitler would do next, and after he had struck and it was already too late, trying inadequately to stop him. Unless we can sooner or later take the initiative, we are lost. Unless we can show boldness, and imagination at least equal to the Germans', we shall be lost and, under the hard law of the jungle, we shall deserve it.

Great Britain, to be sure, is trying to offset Hitler's thrust eastward by heavy bombing of Western Europe, including the invasion ports, railways, bridges and especially the factories of the Rhineland. We should not belittle these extensive and courageous bombing raids, brilliantly carried out and certainly doing serious damage to the German war activity. At the same time, we should not permit wishful thinking to exaggerate in our minds the importance of such activities. A year ago, Germany was in a far better position to bomb Britain than is the reverse situation today. German bombers rained explosives on British factories for weeks with, most of the time, only token defense by the RAF. What was the result? The highest estimate we have seen says that the British war effort was slowed down by 12 or 15 percent. The German drive against Russia will not be halted by a 12 or 15-percent destruction of factories and other equipment in the Rhineland, especially since so much of Hitler's productive machine has now been moved far to the East, beyond attack by any except long-range bombers.

In this great crisis in history The New Republic suggests that there should immediately be Anglo-American military and naval discussions looking to the creation of a second front. We do not pretend to speak with authority on technical military matters, and would yield on details to the experts; but of the political as well as military necessity of such a front we believe there can be no question. It is now evident that Japan is immobilized in the Pacific for some time to come. Partly because Russia has gone to war, partly through increased Chinese resistance, partly because the lesson of Crete has brought sobering realization of the power of American and British aviation based on Hong Kong, Manila and Singapore, Japan is in no mood for aggression against the democracies that might lead to war. Secretary Knox, who certainly ought to know, says that we can now safely use our fleet in the Atlantic. There we can take over duties the British are now performing in the North Atlantic patrol. If American vessels go all the way to British ports, large numbers of British ships and men will be released for other duties. It will not be long before America can also supply soldiers and marines, if necessary, for a joint effort. But we need not wait for that day; the British, with our naval help, can strike at once, when effort is ten times as valuable as it may be a few weeks hence.

Where could a second front be constituted? From London we hear that some British experts believe a landing on the coast of Brittany is quite feasible at this moment. Whether this is true, we will not presume to say. There is another place, however, where a campaign will almost certainly have a good chance of success: in North Africa.

The British, with whatever American aid is needed, could at once seize the harbors of French North Africa. Far too much precious time has already been wasted waiting for Weygand to declare himself. If he were intending to help the British, he would have done so long ago. If he is really pro-British, he will welcome such an invasion; if he fights, it will be proof that the time spent wooing him was wasted. It seems plain that his loyalty is to Vichy; and Vichy is a nest of French-speaking Nazis who had betrayed the republic in their hearts long before they got a chance to betray it in collaboration with the German conquerors.

For the next few weeks, the democracies have a golden opportunity that may never come again. Italian resistance in Africa is insignificant; Weygand's forces in all probability could put up only a weak defense, especially since their airplanes have been rendered useless through the work of the German-Italian armistice commission. If the British could seize all of northwest Africa, their forces, working with Wavell's men in Egypt, could exercise a pincers movement against the Germans and Italians in Libya. With these troops out of the way, a sweep northward through Syria would become far easier. Conjunction could be made with the Russians and the door opened for an assault against the German position in the Balkans.

We do not doubt that voices will be raised to tell us that such a campaign would be difficult or impossible. We are prepared to accept the military judgment of competent authorities as to difficulty; but we have no patience with those who tell us that it is impossible. Over and over again, Hitler has done things which the Allies had just got through proving were impossible. Unless we can borrow enough of his technique to attempt the impossible and succeed at it, we must prepare for a grim struggle, perhaps lasting years, whose outcome no one can foresee. The only sure victory is a quick victory. The only guarantee of a quick victory is to strike with all our resources at the moment when the Germans, gambling on democratic indecision and timidity, have turned to the East.

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Runaway Prices

IN ANY FIGHT AGAINST INFLATION, the critical hours are at the beginning, before the buying public really begins to feel the pinch. Let an inflationary spiral get a good start, and it is extremely difficult to stop it. The contagion of increasing prices spreads through the commercial structure like a fever. One price increase breeds another. Sometimes this is inevitable, as when a jump in the cost of materials necessitates a readjustment in the fabricated product in order to avoid operation at a loss. More often it arises from taking advantage of brisk demand to charge what the market will bear.

We are now at this critical juncture in the attempt to throttle inflation in the United States. The wholesale-price index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics has risen 16 percent between September, 1939, and June, 1941. For many months the increase was slow; now it has begun to be rapid. The cost of living has gone up five percent, and also shows signs of acceleration. Price Commissioner Henderson is becoming alarmed; he has had to turn his attention to a rapidly enlarged number of commodities, and in several recent instances the business men concerned have not heeded his requests to abandon price increases. He has therefore asked Congress for mandatory legislation.

What causes these price advances? A prevailing excuse is increased costs due to wage gains. But this is not the real reason in most cases. The principal recent wage rises have been either in defense industries, where manufacturers were already making huge profits and can well afford to pay labor more without boosting prices—which are controlled by government purchasing in any case—or in basic industries like steel, coal or automobiles, where the figures show that price advances are not necessitated. Steel and automobiles have already been dealt with by Commissioner Henderson. The largest price increases have occurred in minerals or other raw materials, in farm products, in textile goods or other commodities where labor costs are not a determining factor. They represent merely the result of the business drive to ask more because supplies are short and demand heavy.

We have already lost the front-line trenches in the battle of inflation. The situation which permits this profiteering would have been avoided if we had been foresighted enough to increase production of those goods which were certain to be in heavy demand in an all-out defense program. The New Republic and the New Deal economists in Washington have long and consistently urged such a policy, but it was defeated by the dollar-a-year men in the defense organization, so that now shortages are appearing in many lines and priorities are being applied against industry after industry. Even the proposal of the War Department to lay up stock piles of critical materials, laid before Congress for several years, was not authorized until it was too late. Belated measures are now being taken to replenish some of the worst shortages, but they will not become effective for months, and even then will not, in many cases, supply enough to meet civilian demands.

On the demand side of the markets, we must expect a large increase in the purchasing power of buyers pressing for goods. Of the many billions appropriated by the government for defense, less than $7,000,000,000 was actually spent during the past fiscal year, but these expenditures are estimated for the next year by the Bureau of the Budget at $15,500,000,000, or more than double, and may be larger still. Directly they will greatly stimulate the demand for defense commodities, and indirectly, through spending of the resulting profits, salaries and wages, they will give rise to a demand in the markets for civilian goods several times larger than the original expenditure.

Higher taxes will somewhat restrict this spending. In addition, the sales of defense bonds paid for out of individual savings and incomes will divert some of the purchasing power back to the Treasury. It is high time, in addition, to consider whether we should not apply something like the Keynes plan of deferred savings, already in force in Britain, to relieve the pressure of demand on retail markets and help finance the Treasury. (According to this plan, income taxes are levied on lower incomes, but the taxpayers get in exchange bonds cashable after the war. Family allowances prevent hardship on those with dependents.)

Measures of this kind, however, can operate only in the long run. Eventually we may come nearer to equating demand and supply by boosting production of scarce goods and draining off mass purchasing power; we may do so, that is, if we take vigorous measures promptly. In the meantime, something far more drastic must be employed if we are to stop the Panzer divisions of inflation from making a break-through.

There is nothing else available for the moment but to use our shock troops to clamp down rigid price controls over the whole industrial system. Priorities and rationing, which accompany scarcity, must be supplemented by maximum price fixing. There is no available alternative. And the methods so far used with good effect by Mr. Henderson are too slow, cumbersome and uncertain to halt a generally threatened inflation. To pick the weak spots in the price structure, to call together those controlling prices in these fields and seek their agreement not to charge more than certain amounts is all very well as long as supplies in general are abundant and the scarcities are exceptional. But things are moving too fast for that now. There will have to be an extensive administrative machinery, with mandatory power, to check prices in every industry and area. This is a tough job, rarely 100-percent effectual, but it can be done, and has been done in other

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countries. If we don't begin to do it soon we shall be too late.

Accompanying this kind of control must be the power to stop speculation and commandeer goods of any kind. Speculators have already contributed much to the price increases by buying and holding materials. The government must be able to get what it needs at reasonable prices, and must, if necessary, be prepared to enforce its price decrees by commandeering hoarded goods and marketing them.

A nation harassed by inflation when it is faced by a dangerous enemy is fighting with one hand tied behind its back. Inflation which is at all serious is also certain to bring its deflationary retribution after peace arrives. Congress should not hesitate a single day in passing the necessary measures. Unimaginative and self-seeking business in the defense organization and out of it has already created the conditions of inflation. Business must therefore now be compelled to submit to drastic price curbs, for its own ultimate good as well as for the safety of the nation itself.

Human Beings Need Shelter

IF A THOUSAND HORSES had to be shipped into a city for emergency work, would the job of providing stables for them be postponed, on principle, until the animals began to die for lack of care? As Dr. Edith Elmer Wood, a distinguished housing authority, points out in a stinging article in a recent issue of The Architectural Forum, that in effect has been the position taken by Housing Coördinator Charles F. Palmer, an Atlanta real-estate man, toward the sheltering of hundreds of thousands of workers who, with their families, have been pulled from one place to another by the needs of industrial production for defense.

When the office of Defense Housing Coördinator was established last July, it was estimated that 200,000 new family units would be needed. Mr. Palmer stated that the government was to build not more than 80,000. Private enterprise would, he hoped, supply the others; and the government was not to undertake the job until it had been proved that the speculative builders could not handle it. In other words, let the debacle take place and then try to remedy it.

In the year that has passed the demand for industrial production has made original estimates for defense production seem trivial. The migrations of workers to meet the need for double, triple, quadruple the number of planes, guns, ships we supposed we should need, have swelled correspondingly. The result is the chaos that is to be seen in the defense housing situation almost anywhere you care to look—14,000 men encamped in the fields near a huge powder plant in Alabama, for example, their water drawn from shallow wells, their sewage facilities nonexistent; cots in the meeting rooms of the Paterson, New Jersey, YMCA; raw boomtown conditions and sky-high rents in York, Pennsylvania; men motoring 100 miles a day to get to work in New England—and with a bill in the form of epidemics of disease, bad morale and lowered production yet to be computed but certainly to be presented.

The Federal Works Agency announced, on May 31, 75,973 dwelling units approved, 42,692 under contract, 5,103 occupied. Projects developed by the army and navy with funds allocated by the USHA come to 1,925 units approved, 1,200 under contract, 216 occupied. From the office of the coördinator come rosy predictions. Private building, under Title Six of the National Housing Act (by which the government provides all the money) is supposedly getting going. To what degree and at what final prices to the buyers it would be hard to say. Dr. Wood calls Title Six "one of the most cynical bits of legislation ever penned. It takes all the risk out of speculation for the builder. It insures the careful banker against loss in lending mortgage money to the speculative builder. The risk is then divided between Uncle Sam and the workingman."

Two principles should instantly be adopted, as Dr. Wood argues. First, defense housing must be made rental housing. It is preposterous to expect that workmen, on emergency jobs, will want to buy houses for temporary use. To employ the high-pressure sales talk of own-your-own-home real-estate development to persuade them to do so is outrageous. Second, rents should be frozen. Dr. Wood advises that this be done by enabling acts and by voluntary decree of each defense locality. "If an agreement to adopt the rent-freezing ordinance were a condition of getting the new plant, it is hardly doubtful that city councils, township commissions or county freeholders would be found willing to agree."

Both principles should have been embraced a year ago. If Coördinator Palmer is unable to wean himself away from his background and fight for them he should be replaced.

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A Journal of Opinion

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Can Russia Hold Out?

THE RUSSO-GERMAN WAR is the great continental war in which land army and air force will be the decisive elements. It is being waged in vast open spaces. It bids fair to be the greatest war of movement and matériel that has ever been seen.

German strategic aims in this war are the same as in the German-Polish war, the campaigns in the west and in the Balkans. They comprise the rapid destruction of the enemy army, to be achieved in a tremendous battle of annihilation. For this reason German strategic methods are likely to be the same as in earlier campaigns. The German High Command will endeavor to pierce the enemy front at several points, thereby blasting it into a series of isolated sectors, cut off from one another, and then to complete the work of destruction by encirclement. Undoubtedly the German High Command at the Russian front envisions a second Tannenberg or a third Sedan. The German offensive must be waged unceasingly, at a stormy pace. A stoppage, a single offensive beaten back, will be the signal for a crisis in German strategy. General Brauchitsch cannot tolerate any stabilization of the two fronts, any fixed equilibrium between the forces. German strategy on the eastern front cannot even consider a defensive variation.

The question is whether the nature of the front and the distribution of forces will permit the application of the methods of the Battle of Flanders to Russian soil. Much will depend on the war plan and the intelligence of Soviet strategy. The Russian High Command is aware that it faces a powerful and agile foe. The best and strongest arms of the Third Reich have been hurled against the Russian front. The elite as well as the mass of the German army are arrayed there. In all likelihood the Soviet High Command is also in a position to determine the center of gravity of the German offensive. This apparently centers around East Prussia. The course of this offensive at first seemed to aim at Riga or Minsk. It is no accident that East Prussia is the jumping-off place for the German invasion, directed at Soviet Lithuania in the first instance. East Prussia is a veritable hornets' nest of German militarism in the East. For the rest, the German bases of operations against Russia lie predominantly in Poland and Rumania, regions with inadequate communications that have been built up into German bases for only a short time—in the case of Rumania a matter of months. East Prussia, on the other hand, has for years been the citadel of the German *Wehrmacht*. It is strongly fortified and bursting with military equipment.

One factor of outstanding importance to the Russian High Command is whether it will be able to take counter-measures with a full knowledge of the situation. Gamelin's doom was that he pointed his counter-offensive in Belgium in the wrong direction. In the first days of the war on the Russo-German border there have been only frontier skirmishes. The German High Command is conducting the offensive with its main forces, while the Russian defense has been executed with but limited forces. During the first few days the bulk of the Red Army did not even establish contact with the enemy. Soviet strategy is faced with several possible courses. It can answer with an immediate counter-offensive. Such a course is not impossible, for the attacking German armies in the north and south have exposed flanks—but it is not probable. Another course would be to fall back on the field fortifications in the recently acquired Russian territories (the Baltic countries, eastern Poland, Galicia) and then to attempt to let the German offensive spend its power against tenacious defensive maneuvers. The aim would be to gain time for completing Russian concentrations. A third course would be to retire to the permanent defense lines lying along the old Russo-Polish border to a depth of fifty to one hundred miles, to the west of the line Kiev-Vitebsk. This is not a Russian Maginot Line. These fortifications are built in depth—they are not merely to serve as a single protective screen but as a base for the maneuvering army.

If a systematic Russian retreat is to be effected, its price will be the loss of important strategic advance positions. The new German-Soviet border through Polish territory has two "pockets"—one in the north, at Lomza, northeast of Brest; the other in the south, centering in southeastern Galicia. This Galician position, with the fortress of Przemysl and access to the Carpathians, is by far the more important. Together with northern Bukovina and Bessarabia, more recently added, it forms Russia's jumping-off place into Central Europe—Przemysl and Vienna are but 250 miles apart—and into the Balkans. Should these positions be actively defended by the Red Army, a concomitant counter-offensive further north must be anticipated.

There is no reason to doubt the possibility of a Soviet counter-offensive from eastern Galicia and the western Ukraine. For years these regions have seen the strongest Red Army concentrations; and the Red Army is numerically superior to the *Wehrmacht*, particularly in tanks and other means of mobile warfare, such as mechanized cavalry. The attacking German columns, on the other hand, must everywhere expose their flanks to counter-attacks. The widespread notion that the Ukraine is merely a colony awaiting the conqueror is utterly false. Active defense of the approaches to the Ukraine has for years been perhaps the main aim of Soviet war plans.

It is a matter of the relative forces among the bellig

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erents and the quality of their strategy. The Red Army has more infantry divisions and will have still more within a few months. At the beginning of the war some five million men have been mobilized in the Soviet Union, and these may be expected to yield some two hundred new divisions. The Red Army has more tanks too. Soviet and German air power is about numerically even. Germany is certain to be stronger in heavy artillery —but this is no longer a leading arm today. As for the quality of arms and warfare, only approximations can be ventured in the case of Russia. In all likelihood the Soviet tank arm is in no way inferior to its German counterpart. Any German advantage in quality is likely to be but slight. The technical quality of the German Luftwaffe is presumably better—perhaps even considerably better—than that of the Red air force. Only developments at the front will show.

It will become apparent during the next few weeks just what are the potentialities of the German offensive. It has probably been planned as a vast enveloping action, exploiting all the new technical resources to execute the "great pincers move" Ludendorff planned against the Russian armies in the fall of 1915, only to be rejected by the cautious Falkenhayn, then Chief of the General Staff. Today such an enveloping action requires superiority in numbers and mobility on the part of the attacking army. The fact that the *Wehrmacht* is no stronger than the Red Army in tanks and infantry is bound to become a retarding factor. Another factor that must be taken into account is that portions of the German Luftwaffe are tied down to the campaigns against Britain, in the Mediterranean and in Africa.

For the Red Army these will be the weeks of the great test. The high combat morale of the Russian soldier has already been confirmed anew during the opening days of the war. The questions to which new battles are about to supply the answers concern the Red Army's maneuverability, the coördination of arms and the quality of Russian leadership.

MAX WERNER

"Who Rules Russia Rules the World"

SOMEWHERE IN GERMANY TODAY, wagging his head over accounts of the Nazi invasion of Russia, is a tall rugged Bavarian of seventy-two who perhaps more than any man in the world can point to history and say, "I planned it that way." He is Karl Haushofer, head of what must be by all odds the most powerful group of scholars on earth—the German geopoliticians. Haushofer, who has been closely associated with Rudolf Hess, was recently reported under arrest. Whatever the truth of that, his ideas are marching with the Panzer divisions in Russia.

Haushofer is the author and editor of some twenty books, and since 1924 he has been publishing the Zeitschrift für Geopolitik. In these publications and in the works of the other geopoliticians who have called virtually every turn in Hitler's campaign so far, is weighty evidence that the Russian campaign, far from being "only a phase of the war on Britain," as official Berlin would have us believe, is indeed the real goal of the whole Nazi strategy. It is true that the geopoliticians intend Germany to be the master of the world, but they believe that world domination will come almost automatically once Germany has made herself invincible by obtaining control of the Russian economic system. From Russia they would penetrate India and China. From these points and from Siberia they will watch their junior partner, Japan, gain supremacy in the Pacific, content in the conviction that the Nipponese, like the British and American sea powers, will not long be able to oppose the will of the rulers of the continent of Eurasia. Whether Hitler plans to invade England or not, whether or not he plans military expeditions to this hemisphere, the geopoliticians believe that who rules Russia rules the world. What they mean, of course, is that the Nazi supermen, directed by superplanners like the geopoliticians, led by the super-hero Hitler and backed by the German industrial machine, will control the world.

In the fall of 1932, at the time when a congress of eminent German sociologists were dismissing the Nazis as a group of upstart agrarians who could never gain power in industrialized Germany, the geopolitician Ewald Banse published "Raum und Volk im Weltkrieg," in which he not only disagreed with the sociologists about the potency of the Nazis, but suggested the penetration of the Maginot Line, the division of Poland with Russia, the blockade of the British Isles and the invasion of England.

But although he was rewarded with a government-sponsored chair in the Science of National Defense at the Braunschweiger Technische Hochschule a few months after Hitler took office, Banse lacked Haushofer's imagination. Banse weighed the prospects of invasion of the United States, and having concluded that it would require a million men and that the supply problem would be too difficult, regretfully gave the project up. (Although Haushofer does not use such undiplomatic language, he carefully charts every cultural, language, racial or other minority, every German, Spanish or Portuguese descendant, and every military and economic weakness in the world, including South America and the United States.) Banse proposed neutralizing Japan in the next war, so that she could guard one end of the Trans-Siberian railway, but he

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hastened to add that "we will not even suggest the notion of an alliance." Haushofer, on the other hand, was proposing German-Japanese-Russian collaboration as early as 1913. But although the implications of his ideas are not so sweeping as Haushofer's, Banse also recognized the value of Russia. He was already proposing in 1932 that Germany "grab hold of a suitable country from which she can take the necessary raw materials," and suggesting that this would be to Russia's benefit, since she "is powerless except in alliance with a highly industrialized power." As a clincher he added: "Among her neighbors the only one that fits this description is Germany."

It should be noted that this is bold language for the geopoliticians. Haushofer would not be guilty of anything so forthright. Indeed, Haushofer finds it painful to say anything except in circuitous and muddy German. For page after page he will lay the groundwork for a German war on Russia, but at best he will say in a kind of diplomatic guess-who, "Supposing one power or the other would dare the utmost against Russia. . . ." This caution may be traced to the geopolitician's careful distinction between what is to be read by the heads of the state and the general staff and what is for public consumption. Haushofer's Geopolitical Institute at Munich is a propaganda bureau as well as the core of the best military intelligence service in the world.

Exactly what was Haushofer's plan for Russia? He believed that Russia must be won over to German collaboration in three long phases. In the first of these the German army must win the confidence of the Russian military leaders. The German General Staff, of which Major General Haushofer was in spirit a member, was in complete agreement with this plan and may have helped to originate it, and the policy was temporarily successful. Germany stationed air and tank corps in Russia, and Russian military students were trained in the Reich. The second phase was to be the winning of confidence among the political leaders. Haushofer looked upon the Bolshevik bureaucrats as a caste with no real roots in the masses and easily separated from them. The third phase was economic coöperation, with German technicians gradually converting Russia into a modern industrial plant. In view of what he regarded as her low-grade labor force, Haushofer warned that the last phase, like the others, would consume many years. His maximum over-all time limit would probably amount to something like six or seven decades.

To the chagrin of the Nazis, Stalin had also read Haushofer. The Communists not only fortified their borders and created a "scientifically devastated" area between themselves and Germany, but they began locating industries far inland. The Russian espionage and fifth-column organizations compared unusually well with the German and, according to some close students of Russo-German relations, Stalin has generally shown considerable astuteness in his dealings with Hitler. According to this school, the Russians mechanized Ukrainian agriculture, partly so that this region would be of diminished value to the Germans. A conqueror would not only have to use large amounts of his own machinery, but a mechanized Ukraine would consume a large proportion of the 28,000,000 tons of oil and gas produced annually in the Caucasus and the Ukraine. The Bolsheviks built granaries in five locations, so that the invader would find it hard ever to capture more than 20 percent of the Ukraine's supplies if a surprise thrust should make destruction impossible. Germany, carefully nurturing Prince Skoropodski as a Ukrainian Quisling, discovered that the Communists had liquidated everyone who knew who Skoropodski was. Finally, Stalin undid the whole "first phase" of Haushofer's plan when he shot his German-educated generals.

If the Bolsheviks have telescoped time in carrying out their own industrialization plan, Hitler's conquest has made a virtual time capsule of the geopolitical blueprint. Does Haushofer approve? It was Haushofer, giving his private Wednesday lectures to Hitler while the latter was imprisoned in Landshut near Haushofer's Bavarian highland home, who crystallized Der Führer's ideas on the folly of waging war on two fronts, and it is well within the rules of this guessing game to propose that Hess, Haushofer's aide-de-camp in the World War and one of his earliest disciples, in his flight to Scotland meant to neutralize the western front while the Nazis attacked on the east. But whether or not Haushofer now believes Hitler to be too impetuous, the capture of Russia is the key to the geopolitical plan. The point is not that Haushofer, like Hitler, would have preferred to accomplish it peaceably, but that the capture had to be made at any cost.

To realize how crucial this is in the theory of Geopolitik one must understand that Haushofer has taken over the ideas of the British geographer Sir Halford Mackinder and turned them to Nazi use. One of the first issues of Zeitschrift für Geopolitik thoroughly explored Mackinder's work, and Haushofer has repeatedly acknowledged the obligation to the English imperialist. Mackinder believed that the plains of Russia are the pivot of history, the heartland of the Eurasian world island. "Who rules East Europe commands the Heartland," he argued; "who rules the Heartland commands the World Island; who rules the World Island commands the world." Mackinder, writing at the time of the Versailles Treaty, was trying to persuade the Allies to make sure that Germany and Russia would never get together.

"What if the Great Continent, the whole World Island, or a large part of it, were at some future time to become a single and united base of sea power?" he asked. "Even in the present war, insular America had to come to the aid of insular Britain, not because the British fleet could not have held the sea for the time being, but lest such a building and manning base were to be assured to Germany at the Peace, or rather Truce,

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that Britain would inevitably be outbuilt and outmanned a few years later."

To this concept of the ruling world island, Haushofer added his previous ideas for a union with the dominant power in what he calls the Indo-Pacific space —an area containing half the people of the world. In his classroom in the University of Munich Haushofer was saying as early as 1922 that Italy and Japan should be Germany's allies in the next war. When Russia refused to fit into his plan, Haushofer's rage was turned upon her, and it is interesting to note that Hitler's violently anti-Russian speech of 1936 was made not long after Haushofer in his Zeitschrift für Geopolitik had run a series of articles trying to answer the question: why does Russia want to belong to the League of Nations? The answer, in general, was that she wanted nothing that was to Germany's advantage. The magazine kept up a bitterly anti-Russian tone through 1938, helping by this means to sell Munich to the British. "There are groups in Europe hoping for advantages from a world war," Haushofer told them darkly. Even in 1939 a writer in Haushofer's magazine was saying: "We speak here of Russia, not Soviet Russia, because the present Jewish-Bolshevik misrulers do not change the problems of the Russian people and space."

Following Munich, Haushofer's magazine said: "The long guessing as to whether or not the Red Army has suffered in striking power may be considered as ended, and the answer agrees with those who were convinced that the structure of the Soviet army was heavily disturbed. Stalin himself has given the answer to all who were skeptical about the efficiency of Soviet Russia."

In November, 1939, soon after the German-Soviet pact was signed, however, Haushofer wrote in a different vein: "We must acknowledge," he said, "that a wise servant of the Soviets, Radek, was among the first to throw light upon the meaning of Versailles: that both Germans and Russians are the suffering ones, and that, by fighting each other bitterly, they only serve the imperialistic aims of the Western powers. . . . Radek is a dangerous man, certainly, like all dialectically able, wise, intellectual and far-sighted heads [Haushofer must have been betting on Radek's German], so that nothing but corresponding vision, not narrow-mindedness, can hope to get along successfully with them, but without such collaboration there cannot be advantage for both parties to come to geopolitical new formations in the Near East. . . . All those who really understand Lenin's work will tackle the Near East questions with open minds. . . ."

His advice followed in the Italian, Japanese and Russian pacts, Haushofer now advocated a Russo-Japanese agreement: "The principle aim of German-Japanese coöperation should be to make it clear that there is the possibility of a Japanese-Russian understanding, just as easy to find as the Russo-German understanding was to be found after the mutual space-advantage was clearly seen." One of the sharpest revelations of what Haushofer hoped to use the Soviet for is seen in this passage: "The Persian Gulf and India will be at the disposal of a really Russian policy. . . . Leading Indians, Nehru and Bose, follow the master's words from Moscow when they do not even hear the German science." By failing to gain all-out Russian coöperation peaceably, the Germans lost a powerful weapon in India, an eventuality the Nazis must have considered along with the disadvantages of completely bankrupting their own diplomacy.

The logical extension of the geopolitical plan will bring Germany into competition with Japan, a factor which Haushofer has also considered, albeit not in print. Presuming further Hitler victories, a conflict might readily arise over the Dutch East Indies. The German Fatherland proper, according to the Nazi scheme, will permanently incorporate the Netherlands,[1] and as a natural corollary, the Netherlands East Indies. However, The Japan Times Advertiser, the Charlie McCarthy of the Japanese Foreign Office, on April 29 proposed these among its "exploratory" peace terms: "In the Pacific, the Netherlands Indies might be detached from the Netherlands and placed under an independent government with native participation, and British possessions would obtain increasing self-government. Throughout all these Pacific Islands Japanese advisers would be admitted and entrusted with the duty of rationalizing forms of coöperation in the 'co-prosperity sphere,' particularly in regard to the retention of natural resources." To make its meaning perfectly obvious, the paper adds: "French Indo-China would receive independence on the same terms." The plan also calls for demilitarization of Siberia and independence for India.

While it is clear that the Germans have no such goodies planned for their little brown brothers, Haushofer is fond of repeating privately the Chinese proverb: "He who rides a tiger cannot get off."

This streak of deep pessimism in Haushofer is worth noting. Haushofer's batting average being what it is (he foresaw Germany's defeat in the First World War as well as her current series of diplomatic and military victories), the pessimism is all that cuts the deep gloom encompassing the non-Axis reader of his maps and charts. Haushofer never says this directly, but the reader gets the impression that the geopolitician has a foreboding of eventual German defeat, especially when he weighs the prospects for Germany's mammoth empire. It is almost as if Frankenstein, seeing his creation taking life, realizes the monster must destroy not only itself but its creator. But perhaps it is foolish to try to extract even this consolation from Haushofer; he may simply be like the robust youth who broods because he must die at ninety. The geopolitical planners, like the Nazi carpenters, are building for the thousand-year rule.

ALBERT HORLINGS

[1] As well as still unincorporated German Switzerland, German Italy ("especially the southern Tyrol") and German Lithuania.

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Psychosomatic Medicine

NEARLY EVERYONE has a friend or relative who suffers from high blood pressure. It is also widely known that physicians instruct such patients to diet, to rest, and above all not to get angry or lose their tempers. Recently treatment which is almost diametrically opposed to the traditional has had marked success with some sufferers from this disease. Under special therapeutic circumstances they are instructed to get angry and lose their tempers. The result is that the high blood pressure disappears and they can eat what they will and only have to rest when they feel tired.

Asthma is another frequent disease in which new types of therapy have been successful. Traditional treatment has isolated the asthmatic from certain environments and called for the administration of adrenalin in the asthmatic spasm. After a particular form of emotional reëducation some asthmatics have been able to go where they please and to leave the adrenalin at home. The treatment of some cases of peptic ulcer, arthritis and even warts has been drastically modified by the application of the new discipline of psychosomatic medicine. In fact, discoveries made in this new discipline during the last few years may lead to a radical reorganization of medical practice.

Although the term psychosomatic medicine sounds rather formidable, its meaning is simple, the processes underlying its problems are common human experiences, and astute physicians from the time of Hippocrates have either wittingly or intuitively used its rudiments in effecting cures.

Psychosomatic medicine investigates the relationships between the Psyche (mind) and the Soma (body), particularly those interactions between the emotions and the autonomic nervous system. In practice it uses the knowledge so gained to ameliorate the condition of the patient. It thus combines the traditional disciplines of internal medicine and psychiatry, supplementing pills with emotional reëducation and adding emotional insight to special diets.

We all know what it means to be scared stiff, or to be trembling with excitement, or to be lovesick. An individual who is "boiling with rage" in the psychological sense may quite meaningfully be said to have his blood "boiling" in the physiological sense. The mind and body aspects of emotion are only crudely differentiable and some psychologists consider them but different aspects of the same basic process. In rage the blood pressure, the respiratory rate, the heart beat and the perspiration rate are all increased, while the mechanisms controlling the flow of gastric juices and those building up and storing bodily energy are diminished. Drastic changes in bodily metabolism accompany all intense emotional experiences like love, hate, anger and fear. The subtler emotions like remorse and resentment and the persistent moods like elation and depression are accompanied by milder changes, but changes of greater duration. In the hypothetical "normal" individual emotions become spent and their physiological concomitants disappear. But sometimes we cry long after the milk has dried, and even if we turn the other cheek the resentment remains. We simply cannot kiss all the girls who appeal to us, nor can we horsewhip all our critics. People have some right to be afraid in the modern world. Individuals who suffer under continued and severe emotional tensions may be said to be victims of "emotional indigestion." One form of emotional indigestion leads to the development of peptic ulcers.

To some extent, successful physicians almost always evaluate their patients' emotional status and mental health in prescribing treatment. In this they are using the rudimentary forms of psychosomatic medicine. Thus, after a crucial operation a surgeon may be heard to remark: "She'll pull through if she has the will to live," although this same surgeon will disclaim any knowledge of psychiatry and may in fact consider psychiatry so much nonsense and its practitioners a queer lot of people. Or an internist may end his consultation with: "Now, Mr. Jones, take these pills, but they won't really do you much good unless you relax and get your mind off that merger." And, again without referring to psychosomatic medicine, he will tell a colleague: "John Jones will pay his bill when that deal goes through and I bet we won't see him again until he gets mixed up in a new one." One very wise physician has said that he would rather know what sort of a personality has the disease than what sort of disease the personality has.

The type of psychosomatic medicine the general practitioner has used—at least until very recently—has been very incomplete in one important respect. Helpful as his understanding and evaluation of the *conscious* emotional conflicts of the patient are, he is unequipped to deal with the patient's *unconscious* emotional conflicts. Unconscious emotional conflicts create many bodily as well as mental symptoms and they are unknown to the patient, at least in their true form.

It is here that generally known psychosomatic medicine stops and modern psychiatric ideas about the subject begin. Nobody knows just what the "unconscious" is or where it is located, but nobody knows just what gravity is or where it is located either. And as physicists can explain a great deal about the physical behavior of bodies through the concept of gravity, psychologists can explain a great deal about the behavior of human bodies through the concept of the unconscious. There is

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today an overwhelming array of evidence that many of the things which we think and do and feel arise from motives which we do not know about in our normal waking states. Some of these motives may be learned by psychiatrists through various techniques like hypnosis and psychoanalysis. Although Freud did not discover the unconscious, his life work was concerned with demonstrating its role and influence in both the mental and physical life.

Freud's discoveries caused a revolution in psychiatric theory and practice and this revolution is far from spent at the present time. It is now pretty well realized that unconscious emotional conflicts lie behind the most varied psychiatric phenomena, the ravings and delusions of the psychotic individual, the fears and anxieties of the neurotic individual, the perversions of the sexually maladjusted, the anti-social acts of those having behavior problems, and even the productions of creative genius. In all these cases unconscious emotional conflict is resolved in a disguised form through the development of symptoms in the sphere of the mental life or behavior. The recent discoveries in the field of psychosomatic medicine have shown that many of the symptoms of organic disease also arise through the attempted resolution of unconscious conflict. This is not to be taken to mean that these physical illnesses are "just imaginary" or "neurotic." Rather it indicates that a great synthesis is in progress in contemporary medicine. It means that all medical problems are physiological and psychological at the same time.

Until about 1920 psychiatry had been characterized by two antithetical schools and there was much bitter debate between them. The first viewpoint, known as the somatogenic, insisted that underlying all psychopathology (mental illness) was cerebral pathology (brain illness). The second viewpoint, known as the psychogenic, insisted that some psychopathology was caused by purely psychological, particularly emotional, phenomena. As is so often the case in antithetical positions in the development of science, each position was correct but neither was exclusive of the other. In psychiatry from the psychogenic-somatogenic antithesis, the psychosomatic synthesis gradually arose. This new viewpoint, the organismic (or organismal or totalitarian) assumes that underlying normal (or abnormal) behavior there are always psychological (or psychopathological) *and* physiological (or pathological) factors.

The best contemporary psychiatry is based on psychosomatic medicine and on the organismic viewpoint. But while the psychosomatic position is recognized in psychiatry, a large part of internal medicine has remained "somatic" medicine alone. When psychosomatic medicine makes the next advance and permeates the field of internal medicine a final synthesis will be made. In the future all medicine will be psychosomatic medicine. In the meantime psychiatrists and internists have been investigating the psychological factors in diseases which have traditionally been thought of in terms of internal medicine and surgery alone. From these studies two findings of general medical significance may be reported. The first of these is that recovery is quite often facilitated by psychiatric treatment when it is given in addition to the indicated medical treatment. In fact, some cases which were unaffected by the ordinary medical procedures have responded to psychiatric treatment. The second of these is that rather general psychological components are present in the "organic" diseases and rather specific psychological components are present in the "functional" diseases.

Medicine has traditionally divided diseases into two groups, the organic and the functional. Organic diseases include all those in which structural alterations are found in the body, whether these arise exogenously (from without) or endogenously (from within). It is in the field of exogenous organic diseases that medicine has made its most striking advances in the last hundred years. The field includes the physical traumata, such as fractures of bones and destruction by bullets, the infectious processes such as typhoid fever and syphilis which are brought about by invading micro-organisms, the toxic processes such as alcoholism and lead poisoning, and finally the deficiency diseases such as rickets, pellagra or even plain starvation. For the endogenous organic diseases like aging, cancer, pernicious anemia and some other internal conditions, medicine has, at least up to the present time, discovered no external causative agent. These diseases are still looked upon as organic in that demonstrable structural changes occur in them. On first view organic diseases seem to offer no psychosomatic problems.

But if the physician studies only the disease entities rather than studying the patient as a personality, many questions are left unanswered. What explains the fact, for instance, that of two college athletes, who have similar constitutions and engage in the same sports, one will never be in the hospital with a fracture, while the other one will sustain half a dozen fractures of various bones? Why does the chronic alcoholic not only drink himself out of his job and his marriage, but drink to the extent that he poisons himself and develops liver disease and neuritis? Why do individuals sometimes knowingly expose themselves to syphilitic infection and grossly neglect treatment to the extent that grave and permanent damage results? Why is it that some people just can't eat certain things and thus impose dietary deficiencies on themselves? The layman and even many a physician does not see these as medical questions at all. But to the psychiatrist they are medical questions because psychiatry investigates the total personality. During the last few decades a few pioneers in psychiatry like Freud and, following him, Jelliffe, Groddeck, Felix Deutsch, Ferenczi and Karl Menninger have raised this type of question. And they have gathered considerable evidence that even many so-called organic illnesses are based on unconscious self-destructive urges

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and that in all of us such urges do exist which may break through even into actual suicide. In his book "Man Against Himself," Dr. Karl Menninger has presented a systematic account of the way in which many problems of internal medicine as well as psychiatry may be looked on as attenuated forms of self-destruction.

In the functional-disease entities the organ or organs appear healthy and undisturbed but their action is faulty and because of this the individual may be as incapacitated as in the true organic diseases. It is as if the timing of the ignition on one's car were out of phase. Nothing is structurally disturbed but the car does not perform in an integrated fashion and either backfires or refuses to budge at all. The functional disorders represent prolonged and exaggerated states of the body's normal responses, particularly responses in emotional situations. It is in these functional diseases that psychosomatic medicine has made its most specific findings. This research has been undertaken through the collaboration of internists, psychiatrists and psychoanalysts with the support of the foundations for research in the medical sciences. For the first time many diseases which have been traditionally treated by internal medicine and surgery alone have been studied by psychiatry and psychoanalysis as well. Among many important researches mention should be made of the work done by Dr. H. Flanders Dunbar and her associates at the Presbyterian Hospital in New York on general problems of psychosomatic medicine with the support of the Josiah Macy Jr. Foundation. Likewise outstanding work has been done on the gastro-intestinal disorders, hypertension and asthma by the staff of the Chicago Institute of Psychoanalysis under the direction of Drs. Franz Alexander and Thomas French with the support of the Rockefeller Foundation. Their chief findings are summarized in the revised edition of Alexander's "The Medical Value of Psychoanalysis." Only a rough idea of some of the most important findings of this recent work may be given here.

Functional disturbances occur in the individual's digestive, respiratory, circulatory and reproductive systems. We have already seen how intense emotion upsets bodily metabolism and we have also seen that the normal individual spends his emotion. In the case of essential hypertension (high blood pressure) there may be no conscious feeling of rage or anger, but the blood pressure remains unduly elevated as if the patient were angry. A patient suffering from hypertension may present both to himself and others an emotionally calm and serene state of mind except in so far as he worries over his illness. Yet underneath, and quite unknown to himself, he may harbor strong emotional conflicts. These conflicts involve hateful, resentful and aggressive feelings directed toward many specific persons in the environment. Yet because of his particular personality he is unable to express these feelings in action and his conscience forbids him even to be aware of them. So his blood pressure becomes elevated without his knowing why. Reports are becoming frequent in the medical literature in which cases of this type are materially and perhaps permanently benefited by the decrease in emotional tension which follows the self-understanding that results from psychotherapy.

Intestinal disorders, such as stomach ulcer, constipation, mucous diarrhea and vagaries in appetite have all come to be associated with different types of emotional conflicts. Recent evidence tends to show that specific emotional conflicts are related to each of these disorders. Thus underlying the apparently self-sufficient and independent manner of a person with stomach ulcers may be deep conflicts regarding dependency and the wish to receive and be helped, whereas the chronically constipated person may by his very symptoms be demonstrating an unwillingness to "give up." This tendency may also reflect itself in character traits such as stubbornness and penuriousness.

Centering around the reproductive functions are numerous emotional conflicts. Specific emotional problems have been found in not a few women with painful menstruation. Frigidity, impotency and possibly even functional sterility all are intimately related to the emotions. It does not take much imagination and insight to see that fear of sexual activities (and with many children fear has been the principal means of sex instruction) can readily be expressed in frigidity or impotency, which represents the inhibition and denial of the sex function.

Although little is known as yet of the exact mechanisms, interesting speculations have been put forth explaining disorders such as asthma, hay fever and other forms of allergic sensitivity. The most recent works in this field suggest that in the future a number of skin disorders, perhaps even one in many ways similar to the common "athlete's foot," will become the province of the practitioner of psychosomatic medicine.

With the latest development in medical research a new synthesis is accomplished—all medicine tends to become psychosomatic medicine. Naturally this synthesis will have a tremendous influence on medical practice and we cannot yet foresee what its exact nature will be. But every synthesis in science raises new problems. As medicine has been discovering the intimate relationships between body and mind, social psychology has been discovering equally intimate relationships between mind and culture. And as psychology becomes an integral part of medical practice, the current discoveries in the field of social psychology imply that sociological medicine will probably develop next. In the present war, the first medical statistics from Canada indicate that 62 percent of those so far invalided home were victims of war neuroses. Many previously would have been called "shell-shocked." Psychiatrists have known since the last war that only a relatively small percentage—probably less than five percent of "shell-

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shock" cases were actually caused by physical concussion of the brain. Most of these cases are caused by emotional conflict and so become problems for psychosomatic medicine. But war is a social disease, and although many of these individual soldiers might have become mentally ill in peacetime, certainly not all of them would have. Not too far in the future, medicine may become the science of healing in an even broader sense than that of psychosomatic medicine. Only a socio-psycho-somatic medicine will really treat the whole man.

J. F. BROWN, PH.D., and CARL-GUSTAF TILLMAN, M.D.

Russia and the War of Ideas

HOWEVER the military fortunes of war go, Hitler's invasion of Russia has changed the nature of the entire struggle. The war now enters its second phase. For the first time two major fronts can be created; there is recognition that a Blitz will not succeed against England and America; and there is a chance, if Hitler is not successful, for the Allies to get a continental foothold against Germany. I know we must keep our eyes on these military realities. But we must keep in mind also the ideological realities. For this has from the start been a war of ideas as well as of men and machines. And in terms of ideas the war has now been given a new and, from most standpoints, better orientation.

To start with, the Russian campaign marks the end of several illusions. One is the illusion of appeasement, which held on toughly in Russian soil long after it had withered elsewhere: it is ironic that the original masters of modern propaganda should have been duped by the pupil who has now become the greatest master of all. Another illusion is the one held by writers like Lawrence Dennis, who for all their "realism" are wishful, that the new world order will be built on coördinate "socialist" imperialisms—Germany, Russia, America, Japan. That Hitler will stop at nothing short of world power is now clear—otherwise the campaign against Russia would be the sheerest adventurism.

But the greatest illusion was that which saw Hitler through the blinded eyes and felt for him through the dulled heart of a mechanical Marxism, as a social revolutionary by deputy. It needs saying again and again that the malady of leftism was not just that Communists turned, as by a tropism, toward the party line. It was rather the fatal habit of seeing history as a set of impersonal forces wrenched loose from the by-whom and the for-what. When the Communists thought at all, and did not act as robots, they had a curious sub-belief that Hitler's legions were, by their chores of destruction, doing the work of communism—corroding the strength of capitalism, removing the huge obstacle of the British Empire, plunging the world into a chaos out of which anything might emerge. And Hitler talked just enough of the have-nots and of the pluto-democracies to fill in the lineaments of a common revolutionary mission. But today he has changed his propaganda role. He is once more the enemy only of "international Bolshevists" and the defender of the faith against the godless Reds. And Stalin and his satellites have their hearts laden with rue and their minds, let us hope, cleared of fog.

It is a tragic irony that it should have required an act of Hitler, the success of which would spell the end of the Soviet Union, to bring the forces of the Left together. Yet some can learn only after the juggernaut of events has passed on. Now in the wake of it they will make major readjustments in their thinking. The wounded Communists will crawl back into the stockade of the Popular Front. The talked-of rift in the CIO will be healed, and without his Communist support John L. Lewis will be not only isolationist but isolated. Wildcat strikes like the North American will subside. New virtues will be discovered in Roosevelt and Churchill, although it is unlikely that the revaluation will reach as far as LaGuardia. The energy that was channeled into "peace mobilization" will now be channeled into making lease-lend a reality for Russia. Thus once more, as in 1939, we see both with Hitler and the Communists how flexible ideologies may be if they are viewed only as things to manipulate.

But Hitler must know that he runs the risk of unifying the Left against him. What then is his compensatory tactic in the war of ideas? It is to unify the Right in his favor. Will he succeed? The answer must be a qualified one. For the Christian Front and America First the invasion is a propaganda natural. They can now demand to know whether we shall spill blood to make the world safe for communism and godlessness. But the crucial question comes not with these groups but with the conservatives, who are genuinely anti-Nazi but who also fear communism. The one thing Hitler hopes is that enough of these people will say: "Let the two bloody dictators fight it out while we stay on the sidelines and cheer." If he hoped for a peace move from England on this account, Churchill's speech and the RAF raids are a sufficient answer. But in America there is a chance that we shall turn a cold stare on Russia and "wait and see" at the very moment when we should be hurling everything into the conflict.

If the conservatives reason thus, or if they content themselves with organized lukewarmness, it will be the "end of conservative man" (to adapt a phrase of

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Guenter Reimann's) in America and the world as a whole. In terms of poetic justice, of course, the Russians deserve the bitter medicine they are drinking, as England deserves her medicine for Munich. But poetic justice is a luxury reserved for the survivors. For the present we must understand that if Hitler gets Russia's rich food and oil stores he will either succeed in a peace offensive tantamount to total victory, or enter a long-drawn-out war against England and America with renewed strength. But if Russia resists even until winter, Hitler's war will be stalled, Britain and America saved and a foothold gained for the liberation of the European continent. Even the conservatives who have been fearing a long war of attrition between the democracies and Hitler on the ground that Stalin would be the residual legatee, can now forget their fears. For now that Russia has been drawn into the war on England's side, even if she survives she will be a responsible partner in a common peace.

Ours will be a witless course if we do not see all this clearly, and if we allow ourselves to be deflected from our path by the dead horse of Communist fear. A reporter asked Mr. Roosevelt whether the defense of Russia was also the defense of America, and the President ridiculed the question. Politically he may have been shrewd. And yet the answer is yes. Here is one case where Churchill has proved himself the bolder and more decisive leader.

If we are hesitant in our moves, much of the blame will be with the very liberals who are today the spearhead of the anti-Nazi effort, but who have said repeatedly that there was nothing to choose between the Nazis and the Soviets. And again we see that ideas have consequences. The invasion of Russia is in itself of course no proof of the difference. Yet historic events are not pulled out of a hat. From the very start there was a desperate opportunism about the Nazi-Soviet pact that gave it a febrile quality. Hitler's policy could be summed up in the line from Racine: "I embrace my enemy in order the better to strangle him." And Stalin's was born of appeasement and sired by resentment of England. Despite the pact, the hostility reaches beyond personalities and beyond power politics. It is true that Russia and Germany are both totalitarian and both despotisms. But the deeper truth is that social systems remain somehow moored to their ideological origins. The Nazi origins were in the anti-humanist and life-denying doctrines of war as an end, of racial exclusiveness, of contempt for the common man. The origins of the Soviet system, for all the perversions that Stalinism has been guilty of, were in the humanist and life-affirming doctrines of mass progress and human worth, the Marxian conviction that men can build a world through rational effort, that by transforming their social universe they can transform themselves.

The calculable future we face is bleak and arduous no matter how this war turns out. But if something can be done by this war to bring Russia back once more into the stream of direction from which she has been so drastically diverted—back toward a humanist socialism and a planned democracy—it might be a major turning-point in history. I do not have much hope for Stalin and his yes-men. Lenin would have done by deliberate policy and deep humanity what Stalin has had forced on him by Hitler's will. Yet the long run in Russia goes beyond leaders. The Russian people are now learning what an unbridgeable gulf separates them from the Nazi outlook. That lesson is being burned into them by Stukas and flame-throwing tanks. We would do ill if by our half-heartedness we were kept from helping them freely and generously, and thus from bridging the gulf that has separated us from them.

These considerations go beyond the war. The future of the West and the chances of a viable international order depend largely upon our finding common ground on which the American, British, Chinese and Russian people can act. When we have that we shall have a base strong enough and broad enough to bear the weight of a democratic regeneration of the European continent, and decisive enough to furnish a directive for the still uncertain energies of Latin America.

If that happens, Hitler's labyrinthine mind will for once have overreached itself by its own resourcefulness. He will meet his defeat not, as Napoleon did, from the frozen earth of Russia, but from a misreckoning of the power of unity still left in our world. That puts the burden where it belongs—on us. MAX LERNER

English Sunday

WE ARE AT WAR; everyone is aware of that, by day, by night, at every waking second of the day, of the night, but in the country there is, behind that agitation, fear, exaltation, a background of the quiet of the earth.

Bombs fall on cities, can even destroy cities; bombs fall upon the earth, make holes, but do not destroy, do not utterly destroy.

That is the difference from the cities; that is the truth with which we live.

Mid-afternoon; and the church bells are ringing. The sounds coming from the square tower at the head of the coombe race down the valley. They do not rise above the hill behind the church; but that is of no consequence, for men have never built their homes on the high open plateau, where snow lies long and the March winds make even strong trees grow twisted, grow twisted and ultimately die.

At the first sound a few sheep rise, stiffly, moving away from the patch of grass which they have warmed till the hoar frost disappeared. The rooks tumble out of their places in the oak tree; the starlings make a few clear calm notes; three great-tits fly out of the high, short box hedge under which, more than three thou-

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sand years ago, there was a spring sacred to the goddess of the river waters.

Men, women, children come out of low doors, which they do not open wide but shut quickly, for in this remote village coal is expensive; not war, but incomes, have rationed it, always. The sound of their feet is loud upon the frozen road. The old and the young bend over a little, for the wind is strong, and all hurry, for it is important to get to church for the peace service. The housework can be finished tomorrow; the garden can wait another day.

And yet this village is apparently far from the war. There are no evacuated children; never have been. For three days they were expected, but the few trains arrived with no unfamiliar faces. There was disappointment, but now there is relief, because, for the first time in our lives, we clean country people have learned of the strange filth that is in the cities.

Out of six hundred and forty inhabitants, only twenty-two have been called up, for the ancient houses contain many old people. But everybody knows those twenty-two, their faces, their ways, good and bad; they are not merely men in khaki, they live.

A railway line goes along the valley, at the top of a high-built bank, the trains seen by every house. Once we set our clocks by their goings, but now we wave to soldiers or watch long lines of guns making their way toward the coast, away from the coast. We know that the pleasant sands and cliffs of our England are no longer gay with holiday makers, neat with little bungalows, bright with the innumerable lights of great resorts. No longer do our old people wait there quietly, by the rhythmical waves, for the end of their life's journey. Our coasts are fortified, desolate except for the young men who are there to defend their country, defend a free world. Best we like the colonials, the tall fine men from New Zealand, Australia; they shout out of the windows, fill the valley with gayety and confidence; they wave out of the windows, even drop one of their strong, broad hats. For an hour after they have gone we continue to smile and we know they are one with us, we one with them because we are joined, freely and equally, to make a decent life.

So the people hurry on, from the lower village, two miles away, where no one has any social position; from the middle village, a mile away, where there are budding ambitions; from the upper village, which lies at the feet of the church, where some are sure there is a little blue blood. The desire for peace has made us forget our differences, and, as we mount the hill, we see the tombstones which stand even higher than the church. There, in the upper village, all will be laid side by side; there all will be equals, some day. The winter sun is low, coloring the stones orange and gold, and some stand above men killed in the last war. The people hurry, for perhaps the peace service will save the twenty-two sons of the valley.

In the church the villagers sit under arches made nine hundred years ago, knowing that, during those centuries, there have been many wars and yet the village went on. The vicar prays for the enemy soldiers as well as for our own; for peace those people need, too. Husbands and fathers of some in the church were soldiers in the last war, and they said that the Jerries were much like ourselves and we know that our twenty-two do not want to hurt anyone.

And there are prayers for the captured, the suffering countries. First for Finland, cut up, separated from us. A year ago only eight people in the village had heard of that land, but now all have learned that most of the Finns live in little houses and cultivate little pieces of land, just as we do; but there it is cold, even colder than here today.

We pray for Norway, where in a land of progress, some went wrong; for Denmark, our butter and bacon land, where men are now slaves, hungry slaves; for Holland, the land of tulips and a kindly queen; for Belgium, whose life has been torn again; for France, which we pity, sometimes scorn and cannot understand; for Greece, Europe's hero—oh, the world for which we pray is so big. But, of all the countries, Finland is the most real to us, for two Finnish women came to stay at the big house, walked in our lanes, smiled at us.

The man kneeling by the pulpit was knocking bits of ice from stone tiles this morning, before the sun reached his side of the valley. He moved laboriously; he blew upon his fingers.

"Aye, but mustna complain, for Finns did suffer terrible, and Russians was froze stiff and Greeks be traveling through deep snow."

Words fill the building.

"For those who go down into the dark sea, deep under the heavy water, oh Lord we ask help."

"For those in peril high in the free light air."

"For those who toss upon the sea, beaten by wind and towering waves."

We all look at Mrs. Bradlaw and her daughter, at Grandfather Greenwood, at young Molly Cook. Their families have lived in the village two or three hundred years, and now the one and only son of each has been called away. Families used to have many sons: but now each has only one. There was Mrs. Coates who had nine sons, all in the last war, all come back. We are a little alarmed by these small families. What will happen to our village?

The vicar walks out. There is silence.

Everyone leaves except Molly Cook, for her man was called up after they had been married only a week. She stops in the churchyard to look at the fallen grass covered with a fine pattern of long crystals.

"There's rainbows in the bits of frost. They're beautiful, same as if there was no war. When I was to service at Gloucester I had a German boy friend. I never married him. My Bill might kill him; he might kill my Bill. It's two miles for me to walk, two miles each way, but I'll be coming every week for peace." COLIN HARRIS

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Washington Notes

Reshuffle

AMERICAN political alignments have been thoroughly reshuffled by the death-dealer at Berchtesgaden. It is too early to know just what cards will turn up where. But the kind of game it will be already is fairly obvious.

The American Communists have been all but dealt out. Their cheating became too notorious during the time that Russia and Germany were playing partners. They will try to get back in the game by changing false whiskers and bidding for aid-to-Russia in a deep, humanitarian voice. This time they will be recognized, particularly by liberals who were taken in by their protestations of honesty the last time there was a united front against fascism. They will have little influence. After their clumsy attempts to sabotage aid-to-Britain, their demands for aid-to-Russia can only be embarrassing to the Roosevelt administration, which wants to help Russia, and to the Russians, who want help.

They can and perhaps will make a contribution by keeping their mouths relatively shut for the time being and letting trade unionists deal with problems of trade unionism. Or maybe this is too much to hope for. In any event there will probably be no more politically inspired strikes in defense industries—at least not unless and until the Communists become convinced that Russia is being slighted and Great Britain favored as to American war materials.

The inevitable attempt to restore the united front in this country, again as a false front for communism, will certainly fail. The old deck has been worn out. If Russia gets substantial help from the United States, it will come from President Roosevelt and the liberal forces the Communists most despise. And it will come because the liberals realize that aid-to-Russia is a policy of self-interest for America.

It is on the Right, not on the Left, that the strong hands have been dealt. But they are probably far less strong than the Führer intended them to be when he stacked the cards for this deal. He of course expected to reinforce the non-interventionists in this country and the appeasers in Great Britain by reassuming his original role as Wotan, savior of world capitalism and its avenger against communism. The bait was good enough for Senator Wheeler, who bites on almost anything, but the catch of big fry, even on the extreme Right, has not been impressive so far.

Prime Minister Churchill's quick warning and the President's follow-through kept some of them off the hook. Nevertheless, there has been a cooling of anti-Nazi sentiment in the smoking rooms of extra-fare trains and in the cloakrooms of Congress, and a further chill can be expected, particularly if the Russians put up a good fight and seem to have a chance of winning. The President's promise of aid to Russia, his refusal to classify the Soviets as belligerents and thus cut them off from American shipping and his order unfreezing Russian assets evoked but slight criticism. What a proposal of substantial lease-lend assistance would do, no one yet knows. The President apparently wants time to form a judgment on this and the Russians' delay in itemizing their needs is giving it to him.

The attitude of the Catholic Church probably will have an important influence on the President's final decision. Depending, as he always has, on political support from metropolitan populations, which are heavily Catholic, the President is sensitive to Church opinion. The Vatican and responsible leaders of the Catholic clergy in this country were engaged in a vigorous and telling anti-Nazi campaign when news of the German declaration of war on Russia broke. Whether this campaign will be discontinued and the great influence of the Church shifted now that Hitler is fighting anti-Church Russia is not yet clear.

No more biting criticism of the Nazis has ever been made in this country than Bishop Joseph P. Hurley of Florida, recently back from a visit to Rome, made in a public address to the clergy of his state on June 17. He described how thousands have been killed, tortured and imprisoned, how churches have been defiled and how remnants of the population have been debauched by the Nazi conquerors of Poland. "It is," he said, "a war of annihilation. They must not prevail." He said the Vatican radio was carrying the same message to the whole Christian world.

Much as they dislike Soviet Russia, Bishop Hurley and those for whom he speaks are not expected to recant. Neither, it is assumed, will the pro-Nazi Coughlinites. In fact, their clerical minority may be strengthened.

John L. Lewis has been isolated in his isolationism by the conversion of his Communist friends to militant interventionism. And there are indications that he doesn't like it. Strange things continue to happen in the oak-paneled headquarters of the United Mine Workers. A newspaperman who recently reported that Lewis was about to advocate a red purge of the CIO was called in for questioning about his source. He refused to give it, but some of the associates mentioned by Lewis as possible sources of the "leak" have been feeling the boss's wrath. The steel companies' captive mines were exempted from Lewis' latest strike order in a bow to the necessities of national defense. Perhaps the weight of the Lewis eyebrows will yet be thrown into the defense effort.

Wayne Coy, the young Indiana WPA director, who came to Washington in the entourage of Paul V. McNutt, is becoming one of the most important men in the administration. Now one of President Roosevelt's anonymous assistants, he is directing the effort of a group of administration officials to draft an acceptable plan for complete reorganization of the defense set-up. A chart of the organizations shows more than thirty layers of officialdom and looks like something devised by psychologists to baffle white mice. There can be no question that many defense projects are lost in the maze. The Coy group is considering drastic simplification to pin down responsibility.

The OPM gradually is weeding out dollar-a-year men and reforming its personnel from within. But it didn't move fast enough to escape a spanking by the Special Senate Committee Investigating Defense Production for its mishandling of the aluminum problem. The committee fully sustained Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes in his bitter comment that the war might be lost by the government's coddling of the Aluminum Company of America.

Washington T. R. B.

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Fritz Lang, Continued

ONE OF THE TIMES he was in hospital, as a result of things in the World War he does not talk about, Lang thought he would help his convalescence by writing stories. What could he lose? And here comes a factor that neither he nor any other of the old-line first-class men can explain, putting words down in the open. When the movies were just a clumsy struggling art everywhere, there were men everywhere who knew somehow that work in this form was the work they wanted to do. Some of the stories of Lang's convalescence were scenarios, ideas for movies. So when the peace came and his last wound was healed up, when other intellectuals were spending their time being very much so and Bohemian if nothing else, he went to where he could get his chance in making movies. At the time he went there, it was Berlin, where Erich Pommer was reorganizing the German film industry. Pommer seems to have been the first big producer with an eye for talent and an idea of how to let it express itself, and it was his backing if nothing else which opened the way to a good-sized fraction of men who have made film history.

Lang went to work as a director, after learning some of the techniques of the business, and he made some pictures that are still talked about. "The Weary Death" in 1921. After that "Dr. Mabuse." After that "The Niebelungs." After that "Metropolis." He made a lot of pictures and in the impressionistic, half-terroristic movies of post-war Germany, he was one of the five or six big names. We did not know of him over here, but he was not worrying about that. He made "The Spy" and "The Girl in the Mirror," and then in 1933 he made "M," which was so terrible and exciting that it spread to here and was talked of here.

But Fritz Lang, in his growth as artist, has also had growth as a man. When the war came, it was up to him to fight and he accepted it. After the war there were movements stirring against things which weren't right, and these things were matters he had been thinking about. So he backed the revolutions in Germany. He was active. I doubt he was ever by nature a fighter, but when the battle was joined across the deceptive peaceful fields or in the clamoring streets, he was there, one way or another. That was outside his art, which was his way of life, and it was only right. He did not make propaganda, so far as I can find; he made pictures when the fighting stopped.

It was in his time that the great German production firm of UFA was started, under Pommer. It was a time when movie directors of weight and talent were bringing the strange corners of human existence to the screen, in the German films. Everybody was learning about the possibilities of movies everywhere, and in Germany in those days they were on top of the world for the thing they were doing, but even there the best men were learning the slow and hard way, from their mistakes, that is. "M" went around the world as the best thing of its kind, and the best thing for Fritz Lang was that it aroused excitement in America. For about the time it was to be released he found himself in his last revolution, and this time it was not so much a revolution as a stand against the upstart Adolf Hitler. After the victory of something like that, he left his country for good, along with all the other good movie workers, one by one. Hitler and "M" are why we have Lang today.

You would of course wish to know what he thinks in such times. He is for war now, war anyway, for fighting and defeating, and while I am against his position, I must respect it, for I know that if tattoo sounds and age limits are to be got around, he will be there, hobbling and hopping and formidable with his monocle. But above that he is for people, for the working people and the people who do not have it generally. It may be strange, coming from a room in the Waldorf Towers in New York, but what he says there I deem enough to put him on the side of the good men, for I know that there are many things he has thrown away and will throw again, on the same old losing side which is the right side.

He is worried about his pictures: do they do anything? Well, I say, when they're good, yes. But is it anything worth while? Well, knowing his record in Hollywood and in the world, I have to say yes again. Because he thinks the way I think: if you can make something that people will want to see because it's enjoyable and not a duty, and still put in something people should know, they will learn easily, in the midst of their pleasure, to know it. Do you think the lynching scenes in "Fury" were only melodrama, God damn? he asks. And I have to say as thousands must who saw them, No, they were the real thing and made the heart turn over—it was a very fine thing to have made them. Mm, he says, in that story I thought it could be done, but I don't know. Worrying over his new picture ("Man Hunt") he says, is it enough I should put in here a thing against Hitler, is that the way I can do it? About that I don't know, except to say that what is in your heart when you are doing a thing with your whole heart in it will be right somehow. I only know that he is a good man who has mastered a craft so few people understand. He can still make a turkey but he cannot make anything that is wrong for people, or vicious. But this cannot be said.

Fritz Lang may have learned a great deal of what he knows from his schooling in formal art, painting and architecture. But he had to approach it with that knowledge under his hat and humility in his heart, because this is the strangest art ever, the newest and widest. Anyway what he learned under Pommer and with the directors of that group was a feeling for scenes, for the thing to be made real and effective, for the care to be taken in each detail, *not* for the detail's sake but for the final expression as from behind the screen forward into the audience. He learned to build suspense, to mount horror, to make the simple things true by use of actors and lights and camera, sets and cutting, by use of the movie as a thing to be taken by itself.

As I said last week, he got into a hole in Hollywood; he was making pictures that weren't much and that he didn't believe to be much, or he wasn't making pictures at all. But he pulled himself together, took a major contract, made a picture like "Western Union" so he could make a picture like "Man Hunt," and is already busy on another assignment he wanted. He learned to take a step back so he could take two ahead; he learned to cut time off the production schedule, to wangle the actors he would need. No one could say that he hadn't got over the foreign hurdle into the atmosphere of American people and towns in "Fury," but I think he *feels* more at ease now in the American film tempo. He is as spry as ever; his province is, one way or another, what is going on in the world; he keeps busy and seems happy.

OTIS FERGUSON

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The Bandwagon

One of your [the "monopoly press"] favorite inventions which you have used ad nauseam was the "alliance" which you said existed between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany. Hitler's war aggression has demonstrated that this was merely a fiction, created in your offices. It was non-existent, as The Daily Worker has said times innumerable. – *From an editorial in The Daily Worker.*

Besides unshorn hair and turbans, orthodox Sikhs wear an iron bracelet (signifying obedience), carry a wooden comb (showing purity of mind) and an iron-handled knife (military spirit) and wear short drawers (self-restraint). – *From an article in Life magazine.*

Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka himself described to the newspaper Asahi his happy mood, saying that "my mind is empty," and adding: "I have been very lucky." – *Otto D. Tolischus reporting from Tokyo on the Japanese reaction to the Nazi-Soviet war, in The New York Times.*

The safety of the women in the extreme case, say, of an invasion of the country by the enemy, is occupying the attention of the Philippine Civilian Emergency Administration. It has been suggested that in such an emergency no time can be wasted on beauty hints, and that perhaps the less feminine the women look the better for their security. – *From The Philippines Herald.*

Bones?

Be Sure to Attend Opening of the New Blake-Lamb Funeral Home. . . . There will be attractive souvenirs for all ladies and gentlemen attending the opening. – *Advertisement in The Chicago Daily News.*

Total Defense

The navy has announced that the "initiative and ingenuity" of the American jewelry industry promised to relieve a threatened shortage of gold lace for officers' uniforms. – *News story from Washington in The Seattle Post-Intelligencer.*

What a Whale of a Difference a Few Days Make

Useful as the [war] rumor was designed to be, it also indicated the course of the British government's wishful thinking. Remember that a German-Soviet war is only conceivable if Germany first reached an understanding with Great Britain. – *From an editorial in The New Masses of June 24, which appeared on the newstands June 19.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

Jesuits under Hitler

SIR: In The New Republic Mail Bag of June 2, you state that, according to The Converted Catholic, the members of the Society of Jesus in Nazi Germany are being treated with leniency. I would deny that flatly. I am in possession of many documents stating the harsh and brutal treatment of the members of the Society of Jesus under Nazi domination. A brief statement was published in America, June 14.

FRANCIS TALBOT, S.J.
New York City Editor, America

The North American Strike

SIR: Here are a few facts about the North American strike which apparently could only be learned on the spot: Aircraft workers have to be second-generation Americans and high-school graduates who have taken a course in sheet-metal work or been trained in a trade school. Many of the strikers had come from Arkansas and Oklahoma and other states, sometimes with young wives and children. They took their strike vote very seriously; many went home to their parents in other parts of California to discuss it.

Richard Frankensteen encouraged the men to strike at meetings held in Los Angeles in mid-May. Later, after his trips to Washington, he repudiated their strike.

The negotiations had dragged on for many weeks in Washington and nothing was accomplished. At no time was any counter offer made on wages, except at the very last minute, when something was said about "possibly 52½ cents." North American incidentally pays the lowest wages among Southern California aircraft manufacturers, Vultee employees having won 62½ cents at the strike a few months ago.

When the strike date was deferred, at administration request, the union leaders waited around Washington six days before a panel of the National Defense Mediation Board was collected. Then the Board told them they ought to bargain with the company. The leaders flew home and were ordered by their men to return to Washington and bargain. They again waited several days—the strike date coming nearer all the time—and finally company officials met with them. But still nothing was accomplished. One can complain because the leaders did not wait longer to call the strike, but certainly their patience was tried.

When the 3,000 troops came marching in on foot and in trucks, with bayonets drawn and machine guns and tommy guns pointing, the aircraft boys were thunderstruck. The troops broke up the picket line within a few hours. Colonel Branshaw sent five separate orders pushing the picket line farther back from the gates, although the picketing was peaceful.

Many of the army men did not like their assignment. Two men interviewed in the plant were very upset. "We didn't think this was what we joined the army for," they said. There was some fraternizing with the workers at first, then an army order came through that it was to be stopped and soldiers must not talk to workers.

Early on the day the tear gas was used, sixteen picket captains were arrested and taken to Fort MacArthur. They were kept incommunicado until their attorneys, Al Wirin and Charles J. Katz, arrived. The arrested men had been questioned intensively by FBI men at the Fort, and all the questions hinged on names of Communists.

The workers are asking: Did the government break the strike for the company? Why did the President break his promise that there would be no discrimination?

When the proclamation first was announced that the troops were going to "take over" the plant, it was not known for several

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days whether this meant that the government was taking over the plant or whether troops were merely to break the strike. Strikers were enthusiastically in favor of the former, since the minimum pay for workers in government factories is 87 cents an hour.

Beverly Hills, Calif. ELLA WINTER

Letter from China

SIR: Of late the Japanese seem to be exerting a greater military pressure on us. Both on land and in the air they are redoubling their activities. On land they have taken most of the coastal towns which remained in our hands. They are also trying to advance on many other fronts, notably in southern Shansi, western Hopei and northern Kiangsi. In the air the enemy's activities seem to be even more concerted. They are making frequent visits not only to Chungking and this city; everywhere there are aerial raids. Whether these are military in nature or are meant to cow us into submission, I don't know. I can only say that while the Japanese land forces do not seem to be making much headway anywhere except along the indefensible coast, their air force seems to have improved greatly both in size and in strategy. Unless we are enabled to send planes to contest the air, there is a possibility that our southwestern base, our last, may yet be endangered.

There are rumors about a Japanese peace offensive. It is said that after his fruitful trip to Europe, Matsuoka thought that he could subdue Chungking by a war of nerves, seeing that Chungking could no longer count on the help of Russia and that the Anglo-Saxon nations would be fully occupied with the Battle of the Atlantic. Though it cannot be verified, I can believe that peace feelers might have been dispatched to get the ear of Chungking. But I have implicit faith in General Chiang Kai-shek's resolution to carry the war to a successful end, regardless of the attitude of other powers.

I often fear that the democracies, counting ourselves as one, may yet lose this war through indecision and lack of vision rather than through weakness in a military way. Military weakness can be made good once there is a will to win, but moral weakness cannot. I would like to see the democracies formulate and state their peace aims and pledge their common resolution to defeat the totalitarians in order to realize these aims, thus banishing all fears of appeasement and of separate peaces. An open alliance on the part of America, the British Empire and China would be an ideal set-up, and a general declaration of war against each and all of the Axis powers would be a sagacious step. If this is yet premature, a formal pledge of common and united action should be made in which each of the ABC powers pledges not to take any action unwelcome to the others.

Both as a man and as a Chinese I would like to postulate the following points as our common aims of war and peace: (1) the defeat of Hitler and his allies; (2) equal treatment of all nations, victors and vanquished alike, in the post-war reconstruction; (3) in no settlement shall the nations with a higher standard of living be forced to lower that standard; (4) in no settlement shall the nations with greater resources be allowed so to control these resources as to deprive the nations with a lower standard of the opportunity for improvement; and (5) a world organization shall be set up to give effect to the foregoing principles. Let me be more specific. If the first two principles are accepted, I think, the conflict of interests between the British and Germans, for instance, would not be nearly so great as between the rich, high-living and scarcely populated Anglo-Saxon nations on the one hand and the poor, low-living and thickly populated nations of China and India and Japan on the other. Some formula must be found to accommodate the economic interests of both groups. Only by the Eastern nations' agreeing not to disturb the higher standards of living of the Anglo-Saxon nations and the Anglo-Saxon nations' agreeing to share their natural resources with the Eastern nations, can there be an equitable and stable settlement. And I believe that if the economic interests of these two groups can be reconciled, the other nations can well find satisfaction within the boundaries of that reconciliation.

Chinese resistance is just now on a low level, owing largely to our economic plight. Because the southwest is not self-sufficient, its dependence on the outside is becoming plainer every day. The Burma Road, left alone and unbombarded, is a very inadequate lifeline. To prevent the further deterioration of Chinese economic life, either the Road must have a parallel rail line or there must be access to the Middle-Yangtze provinces, or both. Neither can be realized without substantial foreign help—in the way of supplies and airplanes. Herein lies the necessity of not overlooking the needs of a fighting China.

The Communist troops have done very little fighting in the past two years, all their propaganda notwithstanding. On the contrary they have been very oppressive to the common people and very aggressive toward other Chinese troops. If it were not for the fear of Russian complications, I think that the disbanding of all the Communist troops would be a good thing for us, for then nobody will stab us in the back while we are fighting the Japanese. But we have to try to keep on good terms with Russia, just as you are trying. So the Communists must be tolerated for the present.

Kunming, China TUAN-SHENG CHIEN

Halperin Still at Oklahoma

SIR: Like Mark Twain I must report that news of my dismissal from the faculty of the University of Oklahoma [The New Republic, June 23] was somewhat exaggerated. An Oklahoma senate committee recommended my dismissal but the Board of Regents has taken no action, since no evidence whatsoever supporting the recommendation was presented.

Norman, Okla. MAURICE HALPERIN

The Poetry of Flight

SIR: Mr. Brown in his review [The New Republic, June 2] is right in poking fun at the "poetry of flight," of which "The Airmen" claims to be a shining example. But he is wrong in saying that "a long poem on aviation is a little premature." How can a *poem* of any length on anything be premature, except for the lack of ability in the poet? What Mr. Brown means is that he actually agrees with Mr. Rodman that there is such a thing as the "poetry of flight," *per se*. When Mr. Brown says "The dead children and the bombed towns shouldn't be left out of it," it is halfway beside the point. The truth is that the subject, if any, for the poet lies in the dead children and the bombed towns and not in the aviation. Since there are children dead from other causes and towns destroyed in other ways, the subject escapes the classification.

The habit of classification is a bad habit and invariably results in blind alleys not only in criticism but in the creative processes as well. Mr. Rodman has paid the price, for he has confused the grandeur of his subject with the body of his poetry. A poetic history of the air is one thing; a historic poem of the air is another. In attempting to write the second he succeeded in writing the first.

Mr. Brown's parables of pride and modesty [The New Republic, June 16] and his proclamation that "I'm a poet . . . and I know a lemon when I see it," are as amusing as they are shocking. This second review of Mr. Rodman's book is much shorter than the first and reads: *there was a worm in Mr. Rodman's apple and therefore it's a lemon.* No doubt Mr. Brown is having a hard time; to him the world must be literally full of

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lemons. Fortunately no expert technical knowledge is required to recognize a lemon squeezer on sight. Which is what Mr. Brown appears to be, professionally, whether he knows it or not.

New York City OSCAR WILLIAMS

[This correspondence is now closed. – THE EDITORS]

No Quarrel

SIR. In noticing my short novel, "The Habit of Empire" (June 2), your reviewer says I seem "to have been bitten by the wave-of-the-future interpretation of history." In ordinary times, I wouldn't quarrel over a phrase; but as forces gather in our time, whatever influence I may have must be placed on the side of that affirmative faith in life which we call democracy. Your reviewer (who was otherwise very kind to me) placed me, by connotation to the hasty reader, anyway, on the other side, whose defeatist attitude is odious to me, and which I reject vehemently. This note becomes, then, actually a correction of fact, and I hope may be printed as such.

Roswell, N. M. PAUL HORGAN

SIR: Mr. Horgan's objection is quite justifiable and precisely for the reason that "wave-of-the-future" is a tag no decent writer wants pinned on his work these days. I should not have used it so loosely in reviewing "The Habit of Empire." But it was the phrase and not the criticism implicit in it that was unhappy. Reading the book I was made uncomfortable, especially toward the close, by the considered tone of acceptance in suggesting the inevitability of the seventeenth-century Spanish conquest of New Mexico (because "the intention behind it was the strongest of its time"). The slavery imposed on the natives by the Church, under the guise of saving their souls, was, for that time, the "new order." And I like it no better as history than as today's news story.

This note gives me a belated opportunity to express my admiration for Peter Hurd's fine lithographs which illustrate "The Habit of Empire"; the praise of Paul Horgan's prose still stands.

New York City MAX GISSEN

Bungles for Britain

SIR: In the opposition to aid for Britain there is one element which has proved a continuing surprise to me, namely, the wide spread of more or less violent prejudices against Britain as such, even among educated persons and among liberals who also hate Nazism. The other day, however, as one who has already contributed to British civilian relief, I received a document which may suggest a partial explanation. It was not meant to give a snobbish impression, but it goes out of its way to make easy the association of ideas in many people's minds between Britain and those aspects of British civilization which we hope are being outgrown by all but snobbish title-worshipers on this side of the water. It is an invitation to give two dollars and fifty cents or so to British relief for the privilege of inspecting eleven private homes and gardens on the North Shore, the lush luxury of any one of which is a standing challenge in a nation one-third of which is ill fed, ill housed and ill clothed. The running expenses of any one of these homes for a single day would probably equal the support of a sharecropper for a year or provide a hundred tickets to this subtly honorific visitation. The capital investment in any one of them would probably build a bomber or rehouse a hundred bombed families—according to taste.

One comment I received was: "And those are the people we are supposed to fight for!" Another: "Slumming for charity!"

The British Civilian Relief has perhaps shown a typical British obtuseness in using as its badge the lion and crown which symbolize Britain's imperialism rather than her democracy. It would be unfortunate, however, if its American organizers were to prove even more obtuse in the selection of the methods of money raising.

I have written the foregoing without any criticism of those who have so generously opened their homes, and with hope that it will help rather than hinder the cause in which we are all interested.

Winnetka, Ill. THOMAS D. ELIOT

"Life of Jonathan Edwards"

SIR: On page 653 in your issue for May 12 you said that Miss Ola Winslow's "Life of Jonathan Edwards" is "a distinguished example of what Archibald MacLeish called scholarly escapism." Are we to understand by this that you regard as "escapist" all scholarship that is not directly utilitarian or obviously related to problems of our own day? Miss Winslow's work seems to me so much sounder than most scholarly publications that I am at loss to see any proper basis for your criticism. We scholars are accustomed to cheap flings from the facile and popular writers, but we look for better things from The New Republic.

Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. RAYMOND D. HAVENS

[No, we were not condemning Miss Winslow, and we are very glad to accept Dr. Havens' testimony regarding the soundness of her work. We were not condemning all scholarship that is not directly utilitarian; our world would be a poor place without it. But we were and are condemning the people concerned with the Pulitzer Prizes for making a whole series of timid awards based on no consistent standards of judgment and offered, it would seem, in the hope of evading any moral or political responsibilities. When one of the advisory committees made an obviously right selection—as in the case of "For Whom the Bell Tolls"—it was overruled by Dr. Butler and the Columbia trustees. The whole affair was an illustration of what Mr. MacLeish had said in "The Irresponsibles": that the American scholar "has made himself as indifferent to values, as careless of significance, as bored with meaning as the chemist. He is a refugee from consequences, an exile from the responsibilities of moral choice." – THE EDITORS]

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Lewis Dexter of Belmont, Massachusetts, disagrees with Read Bain's contention in our May 26 issue that social-science students should seek exemption from the draft. "After the war is over, it is probable that soldiers will be more important than they were after the last one," he says. "Perhaps persons who have sociological training might be more useful as members of the military class than as practitioners of sociology in some other way."

Paul Shana of New York City quotes from Van Wyck Brooks's May 26 article on Oliver Allston: "Nothing is so soothing to our self-esteem as to find our bad traits in our forbears. It seems to absolve us of them." Mr. Shana takes exception to this. Nothing, he says, can absolve one from one's ancestors.

A friend sends a circular which came to him in a plain envelope and which repeats Benjamin Franklin's purported anti-Semitic remarks. Our informant says: "Apparently this is part of some organized campaign."

M. N. Vado of Dallas encloses a letter which he received from a refugee now living in south Chile. German influence is so strong in her town that she had to travel an hour by train to a small village to see "The Great Dictator," the refugee writes.

Leon Dennen of New York City pays a tribute to the late Representative M. Michael Edelstein, who collapsed after replying to an anti-Semitic speech in the House: "He was simply a decent human being who had an undying belief in the Bill of Rights—the flesh and blood of true democracy."

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Marginalia

IL FAUT CULTIVER SON JARDIN. Apparently that is what thousands of people have been doing this spring and summer, cultivating actual gardens of vegetables and flowers at the expense of any metaphorical gardens. Never in my travels through the countryside have I met so many middle-class Americans who were passionately devoted to wheel hoes and pressure sprayers, to onions, early hybrid corn and Pacific delphiniums. Taking for granted that other observers would make the same report, I have wondered what caused this new interest in the soil. Partly, I suppose, it is a means of getting away from the radio voice that hour by hour describes the disintegration of our world. Partly it shows that human beings have the same instincts as the animals that store food when cold weather threatens.

There is, however, another reason for this harmless folly. To dig in the earth, to drop seeds or transplant seedlings, gives one a feeling of direction and potency that is disappearing from political life. The laws of cause and effect are still valid among vegetables. Spray them with the proper chemicals and their insect enemies will disappear; give them fertilizer of the proper formula, in the proper quantities, and they will yield the crop you expect. There are no such certainties in the political realm. The old methods have ceased to work there, and new ones are still to be tested. The desire for peace at the cost of other countries may lead to war on one's own country. Non-aggression pacts are a step toward aggression.

The story is old, but it is worth repeating in these days when the American Communists are again being forced to make a hairpin curve in their party line. It happened in Mexico City, in the first days of September, 1939, and I heard about it from one of those directly concerned, a party official who later became a heretic, renegade and jumper-off-the-train. There had been a prolonged debate over the attitude that the Mexican party should take toward the invasion of Poland. Suddenly one of the leaders came running with a slip of yellow paper. "Comrades," he shouted, "comrades! It's an imperialist war. I just got a telegram from Earl Browder."

I note from the correspondence columns that the battle among poets and poetry reviewers is still raging in this journal of more than one opinion; and it reminds me again of an excellent suggestion that Louise Bogan made some weeks ago. Miss Bogan reviews poetry for The New Yorker, and reviews it not only perceptively but, as a rule, with generosity toward her fellow poets; there is no one who month by month does a better job. Sometimes, however, she makes pretty sweeping judgments, as recently in dealing with Prokosch and Aiken, and on such occasions we are likely to quarrel by mail. In one letter I mentioned the bitterness that poets of this age seem to feel toward one another. Part of her answer was:

> If it is true that all sorts of people are being attacked by all sorts of people, wouldn't it be a real service to human art if all this were aired, over a period of time: aired and discussed and commented on, and given room? I do think that printing the letters in the NR's letter column, under some such equivocal title as "Poets' Bloody Corner," isn't enough The psychological reasons for this outburst, as you say, are deep; and isn't it about time that we allowed psychological considerations to play as large a part, in figuring things out, as political considerations?
>
> Of course, hatred is the psychic coloring of our day; but if there is hatred, there is also great capacity for love. If there is a great drive toward destruction, there is also a great drive toward creation. AMOR, in the depths of the spirit, is both; and the two can never, perhaps, be reconciled, but life can give a periodical beating to death any time, if given a chance and some help. This is something that Auden has been preaching all around; and it is the truth. And wouldn't it be fine if you and the NR, in this war period, should help to let in some light on the subject?

It would be fine; and I think Miss Bogan is right in saying that the present quarrels and recantations are not an altogether unhealthy symptom. Underneath them one feels new emotional forces at work, and a process of readjustment to a new era, and even—for we are speaking chiefly of poets—the first stirrings of a poetry revival.

Winston Churchill's speech on the invasion of Soviet Russia was perhaps not one of his greatest when judged for its purely literary values. It had to be written just after the news reached London, in the midst of laying plans and making decisions, and that would explain why it contained fewer brilliant phrases than most of his other speeches, and more repetitions of what he had said before. Some of its language was curiously old-fashioned. "Where maidens laugh and children play"; "this bloodthirsty guttersnipe"; "that bottomless pit of human degradation over which the diabolic emblem of the swastika flaunts itself"; "their mothers and wives pray, ah, yes, pray, for there are times when all pray for the safety of their loved ones"—phrases like these seem to belong in a gold-stamped volume called, possibly, "The Gems of Victorian Rhetoric." I noticed that they brought involuntary smiles to the faces of people who had been sitting beside the radio with clenched hands; but I also noticed that they detracted not in the least from the force of what Churchill was saying. Indeed, they were part of the general effect, being as personal to the speaker (and in much the same fashion) as the square-crowned bowler in which he likes to be photographed. They seem to survive from an earlier age in which there were heroes and villains, right and wrong, peaks and bottomless chasms, instead of belonging to the gray-tinted moral-unmoral landscape in which we had been living before the war.

But we are not living there any longer. That "modern" world to which we had grown accustomed and which lasted for such a brief moment of history—that world where evil had apparently ceased to exist, where sin was explained as maladjustment and there was nothing that could not be cured by gland extracts, vitamins and psychoanalysis—that world which pervaded our private consciousness and our literary style, making us avoid writing books with heroes in them, or using words with moral connotations, while we confined ourselves as far as possible to purely operational concepts, behaviorism, semantics and word-photography—that world has been utterly destroyed by the German invasions. Hitler's bombs and his broken promises have taught us to believe in virtue again, by restoring our faith in evil. They have even had the curious effect of making Churchill's late-Victorian style an effective instrument for expressing the mind of the day.

MALCOLM COWLEY

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Books in Review

Pencil, Pad and Purpose

THERE IS a venerable slogan among those who work literary criticism for a living, and it is that to do a piece on any subject, you should get yourself a thesis, a Point, such as that policemen west of the Ozarks do not necessarily have big feet. Naturally, the deep-water reader is going faster for "Some Debatable Trends in World Ethic" than for a piece by some naïf who comes out with the bare truth and says, "Two books I found at a house in the country last week-end." As book reviewing this can and often does give a foolish public what it is asking for, confusion confounded and absurdity done with mirrors—a man supposedly talking of the delights of reading who has long ceased to read with anything but pencil, pad and purpose.

Edmund Wilson, for example, has carried a deep and restless hatred for Hollywood for so long that it becomes almost natural to him, and certainly provides a legitimate thesis (ever since I can remember he has been alternately reading Southern California out of the Union and then expanding it the size of a quoit because he needs it in his work). But recently, after a "submergence in the nineteenth century," he began reading some of the newer writers, such as John O'Hara, in preparation for a literary series which he published in The New Republic and now brings out as a book[1]; and the thesis got into quite a cross-rip as between the real one and the one necessary for making articles out of old hat.

He made his authors a sectional group, in that they had come from or been through California; he made them a literary study in that they had been influenced by Hemingway. John O'Hara was not to be a first-class writer, though worthy of analysis; but he had worked for the movies. Saroyan was to be a man of promise, though his current line is the Broadway stage and he hasn't written about Hollywood. James M. Cain and Horace McCoy had written tough sex and tender murder, cheap stuff but with a Los Angeles background. Steinbeck was straight California and was important though he didn't write about the movies. Eric Knight is not a "visiting Englishman" quite, as he has worked on newspapers and lecture platforms here for years. He has written some swell Yorkshire fiction which is not mentioned, and one skit on Hollywood which is. Hans Otto Storm is of German extraction, is conceded to be an exceptional writer, is a California native, wrote his most important novel about people on a ship and isn't interested in Hollywood. Nathanael West and Scott Fitzgerald had gone for the Hollywood money after their reputations had been established elsewhere.

It isn't a sectional group, unless I join the Filipino poets by having touched at Manila once; and a couple of them were hardly writers as such back when they came out and were forgotten except for bedside tables in the upstate guest rooms. As to the influence of Hemnigway, I suppose almost everybody has read him, but you will find little more performance in the way of tying together such a widely assorted group of writing styles, let alone "deriving" them, than a repetition which is either slovenly or sublime: the name Hemingway appears four times in the first paragraph on Saroyan, five times in the first seven lines on O'Hara, etc. If everybody is Hemingway, who is Hemingway? Or, couldn't all the Elizabethans be Shakespeare to someone who had just been submerged in the fourth century, B.C.? There is the same slugging of the word Hollywood or its variants, line after line with a stern hand and a wooden ear—but here we get into the real thesis, which can't always afford to show its head. The book is introduced by a three-page poem, in which a renegade literary Great shows that he has gone Hollywood, *i. e.*, to hell; and almost at the end there is a general essay, "Facing the Pacific," which ties everything together in what is probably brilliant meteorological criticism, except to meteorologists.

I don't think there is a writer here of whom something sensible and level-headed is not said. The Cain piece would have clarified a lot of things in 1934, giving at once literary perspective and judgment; now it seems hardly necessary. John O'Hara is considered mostly from the point of what he is talking about—the writer as social-historical—and from this point the treatment is thorough. When Mr. Wilson says "the cruel side of social snobbery is really Mr. O'Hara's main theme," he may have something, but he is also letting a lot go. Actually O'Hara likes to get around places and he likes to write; he enjoys people and sometimes hates people very hard; and the outcome depends on what circumstances he gets started under when writing. And actually he is a writer, a clean writer with discipline, with the true flash which can make a thing suddenly tender or explosive. This way of putting it might not look good as criticism, but it would at least save you from one of Mr. Wilson's howlers: "As for 'Hope of Heaven' [just a novel, proving nothing, light on its feet, true enough of people and enjoyable to read], I have not been able to fathom it at all—though here, too, there seems to be discernible a Freudian behavior-pattern." Through literature with leadline and logarithm.

Steinbeck probably makes the best story in the book. He is a puzzling talent; he seems to achieve marvelous things, but somehow never quite comes off. Mr. Wilson makes a good case for Steinbeck as a man so obsessed with the animal kingdom that his literature is overlaid with its symbols and his human beings twisted by its set perspectives. It is a thoughtful study and it covers the ground. Hans Otto Storm makes a good study, too. He is someone Mr. Wilson just seems to have happened on, without animus or preconception, and his works are handled as they should be in a good review: the report, the analysis, the comment.

The Saroyan sketch is a mixture of things, but so is Saroyan. Mostly it comes out for the unquenchable writing ego of the man, the brash talent. The name Saroyan is such a shot of mercury that it is pleasant to read analysis which takes both vigor and vacuum calmly. But I wish he had somehow been introduced to Saroyan's best vein—there

[1] The Boys in the Back Room, by Edmund Wilson. San Francisco: The Colt Press. 72 pages. $2.50.

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are things in the plays, there are three whole books of stories, where Saroyan gets into the original thing recalled, so that the truth and goodness of life move with the artist's beauty of life in recreation: that is his nice childhood stuff.

In Mr. Wilson's essays, on Saroyan and on the others, there is not much consideration for how they have done what they have done, and I gather from this book of writing that Mr. Wilson is not interested much in writing as the magic difference between something intended and something made actual on paper. He does not mention the phenomenon, neither does he expend much worry on his own relation to it. He is a good rough-weather writer, in that he can move with ease through difficult precis of what some tongue-tied scientist or scholar has dug up. He learned long ago to write with the dignity of the English heritage, with precision, with a certain heightening of the sense, sonorously even. But his ear these days becomes the echo of his "I Am" or something, and he cannot even in revision see such a short-winded tangle of phrases as "In the first place, Mr. Storm, though a radical, is not, like so many other novelists, a radical of the depression vintage. Of German ancestry, he is the offspring—one gathers from 'Count Ten'—" And when he makes gay and knowing with slang it is simply painful: a word like "gag" heavily misdefined in a glossary and then completely misused a few pages later; in the same sentence with "bar raconteur" and "munificent philanthropical offers," the flat use of the verb "to croak."

This twenty-three-skiddoo business would be nothing if it didn't go deeper. The men he is putting in place talk in the idiom, most of them. And it is in that idiom they have something to say. It is as though Mr. Wilson were reading them in translation in the first place; and then he goes farther by dragging them into his thesis—not into his net so much as into his nettle, which is Hollywood. No responsible writer would prove the movies have affected Hemingway by pointing out that "For Whom the Bell Tolls" was "instantly snapped up by Hollywood." Lord, it was only the novel of the year before publication date.

And there is something either parochial or babyish in one of the crowning lines of the book on California writers and how they didn't grow: "This is partly no doubt a matter of climate: the empty sun and the incessant rains [three pages later he has decided on "a golden and boundless sunlight"] this air which never vibrates [two pages earlier he has recognized such phenomena as the earthquake of 1906] and of landscape: the dry mountains and the vast void of Pacific space, the hypnotic rhythms of day and night that revolve with unblurred uniformity, and of the surf which seems to roll up the beach with a purposeless expressionless beat after the moody assaults of the Atlantic." Why the void of the Pacific is vaster than the void of the Atlantic or Lake Michigan to writers sweating in their individual rooms inshore; how sunlight can be empty and golden and the rains incessant at the same time; how we are to break up the rhythms of day and night anywhere (comes the revolution!); or by whose franchise the treacherous shift and thunder of the Pacific Ocean is suddenly the parlor cat, no one will know. If the climate and the vast voids make fools of people born to it, that might be proved but hasn't been; and is beside the point, as God knows we need no public weeping towel for second-rate New York hacks who get a cross-country chance to drown their weak chatter in a swimming pool.

OTIS FERGUSON

Damn the Torpedoes!

The Armed Forces of the Pacific, by Captain W. D. Puleston, U.S.N. Yale University Press. 287 pages. $2.75.

WHEN Captain Puleston, the former chief of Naval Intelligence, says that if need be we can blast the Japanese fleet to kingdom come, he is hardly thinking along the lines of the State Department. We must continue our shipments of oil to Japan, says Assistant Secretary Dean Acheson, or Japan will be provoked to a warlike act to get oil from the Dutch East Indies. In other words, it is safer for us to help Japan stock up than it is to fight her. For such a view Captain Puleston has no patience and plenty of argument.

He is not for a fight, but he is for a strong line as the only means of convincing Japan to avoid one. Our strategy should be offensive, he thinks, not defensive. We should support China to the limit, stand beside Britain at Singapore, and, instead of appeasing Japan, threaten her with blockade. If we withdrew from the Western Pacific, a frontier between Japanese and American interests would still remain. Puleston asks us to draw that frontier tightly about Japan herself, and to face her expansionists with the alternatives of joint access to markets and raw materials or the threat of an American fleet which—defying air and submarine attack—would scour even the China Sea.

He rests his case upon figures. Nine Japanese battleships now face fifteen American (less withdrawals to the Atlantic); the Japanese ships are faster, but the Americans average three to four inches more side armor—which may make all the difference between a Hood and a Bismarck; besides, two new units are joining the American line this year, while none will join the Japanese until next. Our aircraft carriers mount 465 planes against Japan's 280; our heavy cruisers are 18 to her 12; our destroyers 160 to 126.

The fleet ratio, in the Captain's opinion, is ten to seven. But he reminds us that when two such forces meet, the fact that the greater possesses more weapons that can converge upon fewer targets causes the actual odds in its favor to stand at two to one. "As the superior fleet should inflict increasing damage with each salvo, the ratio would gradually rise to the cube of the number of ships engaged"—which would mean to about three to one toward the end of the fight.

These relationships were well known to Admiral Scheer, when he twice turned away from the British fire at Jutland; they are presumably understood by the Japanese staff, whose task will be to avoid a fleet action until the American force has been whittled down by air and undersea attack. The contest thus will be one between Japanese attrition and American blockade and ship replacement.

The weakness of our—and Puleston's—position is that we are continually being forced to draw off ships to the Atlantic. Our reassurance is that the ships that remain are younger, stronger and (except as to battleships) faster than their opposite numbers. In the meantime our yards are humming: 204 destroyers, for example, are building or on order, against a reported 11 Japanese.

Puleston adds up these facts in a tonic form. His book is a welcome antidote against too dark fears. It is recommended for State Department medicine chests.

WILLIAM HARLAN HALE

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Plain and Fancy Nuts

Where Angels Dared to Tread, by V. F. Calverton. New York: Bobbs-Merrill. 381 pages. $3.
The Shaker Adventure, by Marguerite Fellows Melcher. Princeton University Press. 328 pages. $3.

THIS HISTORY of Utopian communities in America was V. F. Calverton's last work before his death, and it is ironic that a man who began as so furious a radical should end his days paying gentle tribute to Father Divine. Calverton chose fifteen or twenty of the principal communal experiments in America for extended study, along with brief mention of many others, and after classifying them as either basically religious or economic, attempted to generalize. His material is sure-fire, since few aspects of American history are as intrinsically exciting and as generally unknown as the Utopian communities. Incredible as it seems, from Charles Nordhoff's excellent "Communistic Societies of the United States" in 1875, to Calverton's book, there has been no comprehensive popular study of the subject, and groups that had the country shivering a century ago, like the Rappites, the Bethel colony, or Hopedale, are now as unknown as so many Texas League ball players. The Utopians themselves are the finest collection of fanatics, madmen, economic geniuses, sexual perverts, philosophers, saints and plain and fancy nuts imaginable, and it takes nothing but the most literal rendering of their behavior to rival pulp-magazine fantasy fiction. Some of the communities were celibate, some polygamous or promiscuous; some lived on roots and berries and some banqueted in luxury; some saw the devil in an exposed instep and some devoted themselves quietly to orgies. Despite their differences, all tended to be socially progressive: violently opposed to slavery, friendly to the Indian, committed to equality of the sexes and in general far advanced for their time.

Calverton's telescoped histories of the rise and decline of each community, considering his limited space, are good if somewhat superficial, and his treatment of such thorny roses as George Rapp, Ann Lee, Joseph Smith, Bronson Alcott, Orestes Brownson and John Humphrey Noyes is three-dimensional, sympathetic and understanding. His conclusions about the economic significance of the experiments are the wormy side of the book. Calverton finds that the religious communities were generally more successful than the purely economic because they had a religious ideal and a discipline to weld them together, and that no community failed *because of* its communism, but rather because it renounced communistic living or because its founder or guiding spirit died. He recognizes that for all practical purposes the communities were dead petunias by the time of the Civil War, and that the period of their real blossoming was no more than a few decades. But he attributes it all to the fact that their handicraft agrarian economies had been superseded by an industrial economy, and his conclusion hints that an industrial community, something he calls an "industrial coöperative commonwealth," could succeed in our day. What Calverton failed to see, or failed to emphasize if he saw it (one or two passages in the book come within hailing distance), is that the size of the experiment was in every sense too small: that no village community, however advanced, can contain a functioning economy or be self-sufficient beyond a subsistence level. He is right in blasting the doctrine that the American continent could not have been developed without individual initiative and the concept of git-out-and-grab, and he correctly points out that many communities (like the Pilgrims during their first years) adopted communism through necessity rather than idealism, as a better way to combat the wilderness, and that the communistic communities tended to be more prosperous and more advanced technologically than their individualistic neighbors. What Calverton missed, and it is the basic moral in the communities' failure, is that only the communistic state or nation, freed of political control by a larger capitalistic unit around it, capable of economic and even military self-defense, and large enough to be self-sufficient in terms of economic plenty, can possibly succeed.

Mrs. Melcher's study of the Shakers is conditioned overwhelmingly by her Shaker Great Aunt Zelinda and her Shaker Great Uncle Elias, and she is primarily interested in Shaker religion and mores rather than the communistic economy. Despite a tone of somewhat-less-than-critical adoration and a tendency to believe all the Shaker literature she reads, Mrs. Melcher's treatment of these strange practical mystics is comprehensive (Calverton's chapter on them is inevitably sketchy) and in many places, particularly her discussion of their beautiful functional art, genuinely appreciative and moving. Her conclusion, as far as I could make it out, is that the Shakers failed because their fire burned down, which is probably just as realistic economically as Calverton's conclusions.

STANLEY EDGAR HYMAN

Suffer the Little Children

Junior Miss, by Sally Benson. New York: Random House. 214 pages. $2.
There's One in Every Family, by Frances Eisenberg. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 304 pages. $2.50.

SALLY BENSON'S Judy Graves is a problem child only in so far as all adolescents confuse and bewilder their parents. But Frances Eisenberg's "little Joe" is something else again, a juvenile Thoreau, a rugged individualist gone rampant, and stubborn as a mule. If you have only a Judy in your family you're sitting pretty, but if a "little Joe" messes up your table then God help you.

Miss Benson knows young people and writes of them with tenderness and gentle humor. Everyone whose youth is not too far behind will recognize the dresser drawers filled with trial samples of cosmetics, the walls plastered with current film favorites, the middleman tradition in dating (so-and-so told me he'd like to ask you to the party but he doesn't think you'd go), and all the wild joy and heartbreak soon forgotten that are part of being young. She's a nice kid, that Judy, and she's alive on every page.

This Joe fellow is a special case, though. His sober nine-year-old sister who tells the story says he's just shy and stubborn, but the progressive-school heads who have him under corrective treatment are a little tonier—an advanced case of anti-social behavior. He objects to being a guinea pig for an earnest young girl with glasses, a major in child psychology, who is supposed to mind him while his parents are away, so when he gets fed up—which is rather soon—he just walks away, climbs to the roof and stays there for

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three days until she leaves in tears. His parents even tried the summer-school classes for difficult children. He just sat sullenly in a far corner of the classroom chewing paper and the teachers lured him out only once. That was when they chose him to play a three-toot trumpet solo in the little orchestra. He blew himself purple from morning till night for three days until the frantic teachers (who didn't want to dam up this one burst of creative effort) sent him home, where the thing broke. After that he went back to his corner for the duration and the teachers admitted at the end of the term that they'd made little progress. He had the family so bullied that his obedient sister got stuck with all the chores while he was free to pursue his only hobbies, digging holes and filling them up again, and collecting bottle caps. The tip-off on him is that the longest sentence he utters in the book concerns the question of the missionary fund. "You ought to be ashamed, Joe. . . . How would you like to be over in Africa in the jungle with nothing on you but leaves and no house to live in?" his sister asks. "I wouldn't care. . . . I think it would be fun."

The book is delightfully illustrated by Peggy Bacon and should be read by all parents if only that they may count their blessings.

MURIEL BURNS

Wheels within Wheels

The Dual State, by Ernst Fraenkel. Translated from the German by E. A. Shils in collaboration with Edith Lowenstein and Klaus Knorr. New York: Oxford University Press. 264 pages. $3.
The Educational Philosophy of National Socialism, by George Frederick Kneller. Yale University Press. 299 pages. $3.50.

MR. FRAENKEL was a labor lawyer in Germany before Hitler came to power. He remained as a practising attorney until 1938, when he emigrated to this country. His book is the work of a thoughtful and critical observer who analyzes his experiences and the historical changes which have occurred in Germany with special attention to the administration of justice. It contains new, stimulating ideas which do not derive from abstract schemes, but from the contrast between theory and practice which usually remains hidden to the casual observer.

Mr. Fraenkel shows how two different and conflicting legal systems exist under Nazism; the "normative" and the "prerogative State." The first functions in continuation of the practice of the old bureaucratic administration, maintaining the principle that the letter of the law must be followed impartially. The other system supersedes all rules or norms, arbitrarily changing, applying or eliminating them, according to what the Party leaders regard as "political necessity" or "national interests." The spheres of influence between both "states" are fluid, and never exactly known to the ordinary citizen. The conflict between the two sets of principles, says the author, is typical of the nature of the Fascist state, and he shows the dilemma of judges and courts in applying laws which must not conflict with the Party interest.

But an industrial society with its complicated division of labor and a social hierarchy cannot exist without certain norms and rules. Even the authoritarian regime cannot completely renounce them. Yet the old conservative administrators and judges who tried to maintain them during the first stage of the totalitarian dictatorship soon succumbed to the interference of the Party.

We may draw the conclusion from Mr. Fraenkel's analysis that the authoritarian state is a much more complicated system than is assumed by those who think merely in terms of a planned society. Several conflicting systems exist under the same regime. This seems to be a fundamental requisite of "the tyrannical state" in an industrial society.

A similar situation exists in the economic field. Mr. Fraenkel concludes from his experiences that "the modifications which have been made mainly toward *étatisme* and bureaucracy have been of less significance than the persistent capitalist traits; but they have been sufficiently numerous to justify our considering the present German system as a new type or phase of capitalism." Since this was written (1938 or 1939) "*étatisme* and bureaucracy" have grown immensely, and become the major factors in the Nazi economy. Yet the dualism with which Mr. Fraenkel deals has not disappeared.

Mr. Kneller does not possess Mr. Fraenkel's background of practical experience. "The Educational Philosophy of National Socialism" is based on the study of the literature and not on a knowledge of the application of National Socialist theories. His publisher claims that "here for the first time the ideas of the educators, philosophers and Party men are brought together to show what the Nazis are trying to do in remolding the thinking of the country in schools and in universities. The theorists range from crackpots to deeply sincere believers in the mystical union of blood and soil, folk and state." Mr. Kneller was in correspondence as well as personal contact with leading representatives of the educational system of the Third Reich. He tried to understand their ideas and to review them objectively and critically. The result of his research is a tremendous amount of material which reveals the state of mind of Nazi educators, but it is the "official" mind rather than the reality.

GUENTER REIMANN

A Reader's List

ESSAYS IN MODERN ENGLISH HISTORY IN HONOR OF WILBUR CORTEZ ABBOTT (Harvard, $3.50). Twelve scholarly essays by former students of a distinguished American historian on various aspects of English and American history from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries, with a foreword by Charles Seymour. Of special interest is R. G. Albion's study of the maritime adventures of New York in the Napoleonic era.

CONCERNING ENGLISH ADMINISTRATIVE LAW, by Sir Cecil Thomas Carr (Columbia, $2). Six learned, witty and readable essays on delegated and crisis or emergency legislation, administrative tribunals, the form and publicity of written laws in general, England's New Deal of the 1830's, and the character of bureaucracy.

THE COURSE OF EUROPE SINCE WATERLOO, by Walter Phelps Hall and William Stearns Davis (Appleton-Century, $5). Comprehensive, up-to-date, 900-page, illustrated textbook in the Century Historical Series, covering European and world developments from Waterloo to the

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lease-lend bill. Nineteenth-century intellectual, scientific and artistic movements are given due attention. Better written and better organized than most texts on the period.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGIOUS TOLERATION IN ENGLAND: ATTAINMENT OF THE THEORY AND ACCOMMODATIONS IN THOUGHT AND INSTITUTIONS, 1640-1660, by W. K. Jordan (Harvard, $5). Fourth and final volume of a remarkable and indispensable study of religious toleration in England since the Reformation. It deals with the contributions of representatives of great lay and ecclesiastical currents during the civil-war period: Latitudinarians, Cambridge Platonists, Rationalists, Sceptics, Erastians, Anglicans and Roman Catholics. Also a fine conclusion of the entire series.

SIR WILLIAM PHIPS, by Alice Lounsberry (Scribner's, $3). Seventeenth-century success story. Loose but readable account of the young Maine shipwright who salvaged the vast treasure of a sunken Spanish galleon off Haiti, hobnobbed with England's great and returned to Boston, knighted by James II, to succeed Sir Edmund Andros as the Royal Governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony. Skip the feeble and superficial sections which attempt to discuss the character and objectives of the Puritan theocracy.

AMERICA ORGANIZES MEDICINE, by Michael N. Davis (Harpers, $3). Fundamental facts and issues bearing on the question of group medicine in the United States, by a veteran public-health administrator. Recommended as a thorough general survey of the field of medical economics as it affects the patient, the doctor, available facilities and national health needs. Various programs are discussed, with illustrative examples but the emphasis throughout is on the need for systematic and intelligent organization of all our medical resources.

TOUGHEN UP, AMERICA! by Victor G. Heiser (Whittlesey House, $2). Latest addition to the somewhat overcrowded shelf of household medical guides, with the accent on war and national defense. The author's name is a guarantee of authority when he writes of food and diet, sleep, youth and age, germs, physical exercise, accidents and our most common ailments. But his rather admiring references to the Nazi methods for toughening up do not inspire confidence in his belief that "we can harden ourselves by voluntary regimentation."

THE HERMIT PLACE, by Mark Schorer (Random House, $2.50). An absorbing story about the marriages of two sisters. Both have been secretly in love with an aviator, and when he is killed in a crash their memory of him has some strange and rather terrible results. A situation with plenty of possibilities, and Mr. Schorer realizes them all, in a thoughtful and consistently impelling style.

ALL THEIR LIVES, by Myron Brinig (Farrar and Rinehart, $2.50). *Two heroines: one a blond little nincompoop, the other a fiery brunette heartbreaker. They start out as children in the 1880's, and wind up thirty years later in a mountain thunderstorm, the score being three up for the brunette. A good deal goes on in the interim, but Mr. Brinig never bothers to put it into shape.*

NO ONE NOW WILL KNOW, by E. M. Delafield (Harpers, $2.50). No one now will know whether it was her husband or his brother Fred who loved Rosalie best. It all happened forty years ago, and Miss Delafield, who tells her story in reverse, takes us gently away from present-day problems, *beginning with 1939 and wandering back to a romance in* 1901. Rather in the nature of a tour de force, but done with plenty of skill.

Contributors

MAX WERNER's latest book is "Battle for the World: The Strategy and Diplomacy of the Second World War," just published by Modern Age Books.

ALBERT HORLINGS has published two Middle Western weeklies, taught in the University of Hawaii and worked for newspapers and magazines in Omaha, Pittsburgh and New York. He is a member of the editorial staff of The New Republic.

J. F. BROWN, PH.D., is professor of Psychology at Kansas University and Chief of the Psychological Department of the Menninger Clinic. He is the author of "Psychology and the Social Order" and "Psychodynamics of Abnormal Behavior," both published by McGraw-Hill.

CARL-GUSTAV TILLMAN, M.D., is a psychiatrist and psychoanalyst on the staff of the Menninger Clinic in Topeka, Kansas.

COLIN HARRIS is the pen name of a British newspaperwoman, the author of a book on Persia and one on Mexico, and of many magazine articles. She is now living in the Cotswold Hills, in which her sketch is laid.

WILLIAM HARLAN HALE has been for many years a student of naval affairs, and is the author of "The Lesson of the Bismarck" which appeared in the June 9 issue of The New Republic.

STANLEY EDGAR HYMAN, who won The New Republic's college writing contest last year, is at present free-lancing in New York and completing a textbook on the forms of poetry.

MURIEL BURNS, a graduate of Smith College, is a member of the editorial staff of The New Republic.

GUENTER REIMANN, a German economist now living in New York City, is completing a new book, "The Myth of the Total State: Europe's Last Bid for World Rule," to be published by William Morrow and Company in September.

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